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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Anthology Outlines Kosovo Intellectuals' Demands *[ATA]* 1
Endorsed by Academicians, Writers *[ATA]* 1
DRITA: TANJUG's 'Sick Chauvinist Fantasy' *[21 Jan]* 3
Marko Protests 'Nationalist Violence' in Kosovo *[BASHKIMI 2 Feb]* 4
Workers Denounce Kosovo 'Policy of Terror' *[BASHKIMI 3 Feb]* 4
Economic Delegation Begins Talks in Turkey *[ATA]* 4
State Minister Receives Kapo *[ATA]* 5
Turkey's Akbulut Accepts Invitation *[Tirana Radio]* 5
Carcani Urges 'Mobilization' at District Plenum *[ATA]* 5
Leaders' Public Appearances 27 Jan-2 Feb *[Tirana Radio]* 6

BULGARIA

Roundtable Negotiations 'Going Slowly' *[BTA]* 7
Kremikovtski Metalworkers Declare Strike *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Union Plenum Discusses Congress Platform *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Health Workers, Doctors Call Off Strikes *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Trade Unions Protest Podkrepa 'Disinformation' *[TRUD 1 Feb]* 8
Independent Unions Note 101 Labor Disputes *[BTA]* 9
Union Position on Labor Conflicts, Strikes *[TRUD 24 Jan]* 9
Data on Economic Situation Noted *[BTA]* 10
Zhivkov, Others Stripped of Awards, Medals *[BTA]* 11
Zhivkov's Condition in Hospital Described *[BTA]* 11
BZNS 'Refuses To Take Part' in New Cabinet *[BTA]* 11
Opposition Agrarians Hold 2d Conference *[BTA]* 12
BZNS Seeks Unity With Nikola Petkov Union *[Sofia Radio]* 12
Resolution of Agrarian Council Meeting *[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME 31 Jan]* 13
Students Demand 18-Month Military Service *[BTA]* 13
Students, Teachers Reject Educational Draft Bill *[BTA]* 14
Security Employees Protest Accusations *[Sofia Radio]* 14
Georgiev Elected Chairman of Writers Union *[BTA]* 14
Radical-Democratic Party Holds Meeting *[Sofia Radio]* 14
Poet Dzhagarov Returns Party Membership Card *[LITERATUREN FRONT 18 Jan]* 14
Resignation Reviewed *[BTA]* 15
New BCP Magazine Publication Announced *[BTA]* 15
Mruchkov National Assembly Speech on Amnesty *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 16 Jan]* 16
State Committee Releases Radiation Data *[BTA]* 17
Former Secret Telephone Exchange Noted *[BTA]* 17
Mladenov Meets USSR Deputy Foreign Minister *[Sofia Radio]* 17
Further on Meeting *[BTA]* 17
Mladenov Receives Departing CSSR Envoy *[Sofia Radio]* 17
Conditions for Citizens Working Abroad Criticized *[ANTENI 31 Jan]* 17

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Gen. Slimak Meets With U.S. Gen. Powell *[RUDE PRAVO 6 Feb]* 19
Further on Visit of Secretary of State Baker 19
Discusses Arms Issues With Dienstbier *[Prague Radio]* 19
Dienstbier, Baker Hold Talks *[CTK]* 19

Dienstbier, U.S. Envoy View Baker's Talks *[Prague TV]* 19
RUDE PRAVO on Visit *[Roskot, 6 Feb]* 20
Libava Explosion Led to Radiation Fears *[Prague Radio]* 20
Spokesman Expresses Regret *[Bratislava Radio]* 20
'Differences' With USSR Over Withdrawal Timing *[Prague Radio]* 21
Decin Residents Demand Soviet Troop Withdrawal *[Prague Radio]* 21
Slovak Soviet Friendship Group Organs Dissolved *[Bratislava PRAVDA 6 Feb]* 21
Certainty of German Unification Assessed *[Vodicka in MLADA FRONTA 3 Feb]* 21
Foreign Minister Dienstbier Visits Sweden *[Prague Radio]* 22
Meets King, Holds News Conference *[Prague TV]* 22
Comments on Visit, Departs *[Prague Radio]* 22
General Agreement Signed With French Firm *[Bratislava PRAVDA 25 Jan]* 23
Komarek Meets Foreign Industrialists *[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 6 Feb]* 23
Dalai Lama Concludes Private Visit, Departs *[CTK]* 23
Spokesman on Outcome of Calfa Talks in Vienna *[RUDE PRAVO 31 Jan]* 23
Dubcek, Anders Bjoerck Discuss Council of Europe *[Prague Radio]* 24
RUDE PRAVO Chief Editor Answers Critics *[6 Feb]* 24
Interviews Held With New Czech Premier 24
Radio Interview *[Prague Radio]* 24
RUDE PRAVO Interview *[2 Feb]* 25
Pithart Biography *[CTK]* 27
Czech Deputy Premier on Nationality Issue *[RUDE PRAVO 31 Jan]* 27
Czech Parliament Approves Makeup, Elects Officials *[CTK]* 28
Socialist Party Expanding to Slovakia *[Bratislava PRAVDA 26 Jan]* 28
Slovak Government Debates Dam, Fills Posts *[Bratislava SMENA 29 Jan]* 28
Slovak Parties Discuss Recalling SNF Deputies *[Prague Radio]* 28
Slovak Roundtable on 'Depolitization' *[Bratislava PRAVDA 26 Jan]* 28
E. Slovakia CP Newspaper Renamed VYCHOD *[Bratislava PRAVDA 2 Feb]* 29
No Information on Slovak Secret Apartments *[Bratislava PRAVDA 3 Feb]* 29
Slovak Greens Hold Congress, Elect Chairman *[Bratislava PRAVDA 29 Jan]* 30
Radioactive Leak Admitted; Charges Denied *[MLADA FRONTA 24 Jan, etc.]* 30
Committee Set Up for New Women's Party *[Bratislava PRAVDA 26 Jan]* 31
Public Opinion on Role of Trade Unions *[CTK]* 31
Police Chief Queried on Drug Addiction Problems *[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 6 Feb]* 31

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Modrow Denies Receiving Currency Union Offer *[Hamburg DPA]* 33
SPD on Monetary Union *[ADN]* 33
Further on Currency Union *[Hamburg DPA]* 33
Communications Commission Set Up With FRG *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 26 Jan]* 34
NVA Structures Noted at Vienna Talks *[NATIONAL-ZEITUNG 26 Jan]* 34
Military Exercises Reduced *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 1 Feb]* 34
Envoy Discusses Talks *[East Berlin Radio]* 34
Modrow Confers With Mexican President *[ADN]* 35
Mexican Foreign Minister Arrives for Visit *[ADN]* 35
Meets Modrow *[ADN]* 36
Solana Praises Ties *[ADN]* 36
Envoy Comments on Israeli Relations Talks *[ADN]* 36
Environmental Agreement Signed with Denmark *[ADN]* 36
Details of Secret Weapons Export Depot Given *[ADN]* 36
Charges To Be Brought Against Tisch, Goetting *[ADN]* 37
SPD Plans National Congress 22-25 Feb *[ADN]* 37
Social Democrats Hold Rally in Berlin *[ADN]* 37
New Forum Co-Founder Views Leftist Alliance *[East Berlin TV]* 37
KPD Appeals for National Sovereignty *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5 Feb]* 38
Founding Congress of Green League Ends *[NEUES ZEIT 5 Feb]* 38
Conservative Parties Form Election Alliance *[Hamburg DPA]* 38
NDPD Welcomes Modrow's Unity Concept *[BERLINER ALLGEMEINE 3-4 Feb]* 38
Dresden 'Pax' Group Urges No Military Alliance *[ADN]* 39
Citizens Party To Be Founded in Mar *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 31 Jan]* 39

Commentary on Modrow's Neutrality Concept *[Lehmann on East Berlin Radio]* 39
Erfurt City Assembly Dissolves Itself *[ADN]* 40
Dresden Area Council Chairman Resigns *[ADN]* 40
Justice Minister Discusses Judicial Reform *[DER MORGEN 25 Jan]* 40
Deputy Premier on Opportunities for New Groups *[DER MORGEN 25 Jan]* 41

HUNGARY

Soviet Army Maneuvers Set for Feb-May *[Budapest Radio]* 43
Karpati Wants Soviet Troops Confined to Barracks *[Budapest Radio]* 43
Government Decree Restricts Arms Sales *[MTI]* 43
Further on Border Guard Press Briefing *[Budapest Radio]* 43
Gal on Interior Ministry Reorganization *[NEPSZAVA 2 Feb]* 44
SZDSZ, FIDESZ Not To Attend Summit *[Budapest Radio]* 44
Political Parties Launch Consultations *[MTI]* 44
HDF's Antall on Party's Image, Tasks *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 27 Jan]* 45
Democratic Forum Outlines Foreign Policy Goals *[MTI]* 46
Liberal Party Officials on Economic Program *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 27 Jan]* 46
Hungarians' Prospects in Romania, CSSR *[Takacs in NEPSZAVA 29 Jan]* 47
Szokai on Relations With Romania *[NEPSZAVA 1 Feb]* 48
Horn Departs for Talks in Canada 7 Feb *[Budapest Radio]* 49

POLAND

Demonstrators Demand Soviet Withdrawal *[Warsaw Radio]* 50
Daily Opposes 'Early' Soviet Troop Withdrawal *[PAP]* 50
RZECZPOSPOLITA Views Soviet 'Crisis' *[PAP]* 50
Skubiszewski in Bonn for Official Visit 50
Views German Unity *[PAP]* 50
Meets Kohl; Communique Issued *[PAP]* 51
Views Relations With FRG *[Hamburg DIE WELT 8 Feb]* 52
Further Reportage *[cross-reference]* 53
Mazowiecki's European Parliament Speech *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 2 Feb]* 53
Constitution Committee Meets; Geremek Speaks *[PAP]* 55
Poland Sets Up First Commercial TV Channel *[AFP]* 55
Defense Budget Allocations Examined *[POLITYKA 16 Dec]* 56

ROMANIA

Report on NSF Statute Issued 6 Feb *[ROMPRES]* 61
Roman Interviewed on 6 Feb Government Meeting *[Bucharest Radio]* 61
ROMANIA LIBERA on NSF Participation *[1 Feb]* 62
Communist Party Said No Longer Necessary *[ROMANIA LIBERIA 11 Jan]* 63
Key Former Securitate Officer Commits Suicide *[ROMPRES]* 64
Constantinescu Appointed Ambassador to U.S. *[Bucharest Radio]* 64
Single Exchange Rate for Convertible Currency *[ROMPRES]* 64
Minister Reports 'Poor' Health Conditions *[ROMPRES]* 64
ROMPRES Reports 'Defected' Citizens' Return 65
* Goals of Hungarian Democratic Union in Romania *[ADEVARUL 13 Jan]* 65

YUGOSLAVIA

Kosovo Declaration Offers 'Rare Hope' *[Nesovic in DELO 1 Feb]* 67
Kosovo Alternative Movements Meet Press *[RILINDJA 2 Feb]* 67
Serbian Students Brief Milosevic on Demands *[POLITIKA 4 Feb]* 68
Serbian Presidency Session Views Kosovo *[Belgrade Radio]* 68
Kosovo Leader Talks With Federal Secretary *[TANJUG]* 70
5,000 Sign Declaration in Zagreb *[TANJUG]* 70
Tirana TV Programs Shown on Pristina Screens *[TANJUG]* 71
Strikes in Kosovo Collectives Continue *[TANJUG]* 71
Short Demonstrations Held in Podujevo *[Belgrade Radio]* 71

Kosovo LC Official on Demonstrations *[TANJUG]* 71
Serbian, Slovene Leaders Hold Talks *[TANJUG]* 72
Judges Adjourn Vlasi Trial; To Resume 12 Feb *[TANJUG]* 72
DELO Criticizes Security Policy in Kosovo *[TANJUG]* 72
Dialogue Urged To Solve Kosovo Problem *[TANJUG]* 72
Democratic League Chairman on Policies *[Vienna AZ]* 73
Demonstrations Show 'Clear Propaganda Aims' *[TANJUG]* 73
Police Chief Summarizes Riot Data for Assembly *[TANJUG]* 74
'Obvious Rift' Seen in Kosovo Assembly Debate *[TANJUG]* 74
Muslim Nationalist Leaflets Appear in Novi Pazar *[Belgrade Radio]* 74
Bombs Thrown Into Shops Selling Rushdie Book *[TANJUG]* 75
Defendants in Kosovo Arms Case Sentenced *[TANJUG]* 75
Slovene Socialist Alliance Discusses Kosovo *[TANJUG]* 75
Albanian 'Chauvinists' 'Occasionally' Active *[TANJUG]* 76
Kosovo Peaceful; Drunken Soldier Shoots 2 *[Belgrade Radio]* 76

Anthology Outlines Kosovo Intellectuals' Demands

AU0602105890 Tirana ATA in English 0901 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Bibliography: What Do the Kosovars Say and Demand"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, February 5 (ATA)—Recently the "8 Nentori" publishing house put into circulation the book entitled "What Do the Kosovars Say and Demand.". The book treats of Kosovo's current problems and carries a series of interviews, talks and various writings of some of the most renowned representatives of the Albanian intelligentsia of Kosovo, issued these last two years in the Yugoslav and foreign press.

Divided in 5 topical chapters, the book opens with the Appeal of 215 scientific and cultural working people of Kosovo addressed to the Assembly of the SR [Socialist Republic] of Serbia and all the Yugoslav public opinion with regard to the constitutional changes in Kosovo, which turned this province once more to the gloomy years of the period Rankovic [federal secretary for internal affairs until 1966]. The appeal calls for observation of the people's will to affirm the constitutional position of Kosovo on the basis of the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the SFRY. The book has also the petition of 184 Albanians of Kosovo Polje; the reaction of the Association of University Pedagogues and of the Scientific Working People of Kosovo, entitled "What Cannot Be Albanization;" the reaction of the scientific working people of the Albanological Institute in Pristina, "Demands and Stands That Underestimate History and Tradition;" the 8th letter of the teachers and pupils of the "Skenderbeg" school of Presevo, "When Good People Turn Into Bad Ones," etc.

Besides, the book carries also a series of articles, interviews and contributions of distinguished figures of the Albanian culture and science in Kosovo, such as those of the renowned academician Rexhep Qosja, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, Prof. Dr. Zekeria Cana, Dr. Agim Vinca, Rrustem Rugova, Zenun Celaj, Shkelzen Maliqi, Jusuf Buxhovi, Fehmi Agani, Ali Aliu and other personalities of Kosovo.

In the above writings and in all other articles published in the book "What Do the Kosovars Say and Demand," the readers will find clearly and directly expressed the causes of the Kosovo drama, the consequences of the Anti-Albanian policy pursued in Serbia for several decades and which led to the curbing of the region's autonomy, the imposition of the state of emergency, violation of the most elementary human and national rights of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia. The book analyzes the chauvinistic attempts of Serbia to underestimate the national history and tradition of the Albanian people, it exposes the cultural genocide and the persecution of the Albanian intelligentsia. Leafing through the pages, you see there a clear substantiation of the legitimate demands of the Albanian population of Kosovo to enjoy the basic democratic and social rights and freedoms, no more or less than those all other nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia enjoy, whereas the Albanians are deprived of through violence and terror.

The preface of the book is prepared by known representatives of the culture and science of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania." We are convinced, it says, that anybody who will read these writings, will not remain indifferent towards the voice of the Albanian intellectuals of Kosovo, who defend something true that national oppression is one of the evils, which progressive mankind has never accepted."

Besides the Albanian publication, the book is published in the English language too.

Endorsed by Academicians, Writers

AU0802091890 Tirana ATA in English 0728 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Tirana, February 8 (ATA)—On February 7, the "8 Nentori" publishing house organised the presentation of the book "What Do the Kosovars Say and Demand" at the hall of the Academy of Sciences in the capital.

The ceremony was declared open by the director of the "8 Nentori" publishing house, Doc. Xhemal Dini, who said among others that the publication of the book "What Do the Kosovars Say and Demand" is of very great importance, as it clarifies in an all-sided manner the problems our Albanian brothers are shedding blood for. Through the writings, interviews and conversations with the most renowned intellectuals of Kosovo, the book reflects that lofty courage of intellectuals to denounce injustice and national discrimination, that lofty feeling of responsibility for the destinies of the nation, that wisdom that characterizes them to come out of crisis.

Then, Prof. Dhimiter Shuteriqi took the floor. I would call this book, he said among the other things, a book of great pain, but of a great bravery as well. It is also a book of rare wisdom. It is a book of great pain because the writings of some of the most renowned Kosovo intellectuals published in this book, as Rexhep Qosja and Ibrahim Rugova, Zekerija Cana and Agim Vinca, Ali Aliu and other scientist, its writers, teachers and scholars is a part of the tragic history of our Albanian brothers of Kosovo, of their resistance against Serb chauvinism, which now too launches furious attacks against them and the people of Kosovo.

This book, he went further on, testifies not only to the tragedy Kosovo is living with, but also to the Yugoslavs' tragedy in general, the political and economic bankruptcy being on the agenda. A whole academy in Belgrade "substantiates" the policy of violence and genocide against the Albanians. The Albanian academicians and intellectuals are showing to the ideologists of genocide the fiasco and shame they suffered and, being on the

heights of culture and humanism, they show to them the road of wisdom and reason. The Kosovo intellectuals, Prof. Dhimiter Shuteriqi pointed out, claimed distinction as the most worthy sons of a people, who through bravery and wisdom, have coped with all century-long storms.

The voice of Kosovo intellectuals stems from a heart which is as good as brave, as the heart of the Albanians of Yugoslavia. In conclusion he said that what the people of Kosovo say and demand are the democratic freedoms, constitutional freedoms.

In his speech, Prof. Sofokli Lazri said that I have always been impressed by the bravery of the Albanian intellectuals in Kosovo, their intellectual courage and political wisdom, which were also displayed in the tragic events Kosovo is undergoing.

The voice of the Albanian intellectuals of Kosovo, as shown also by the book being presented to us, resounds sincerely, reasonably, courageously and is dignified as well. It is the voice of all the Albanians residing In Yugoslavia, it is the voice of their consciousness, of their convictions, of their demands. When comparing the writings included in it with those of the books of the Serbian academicians, he said further on, one cannot fail to see that deep gap separating two currents and two processes that have characterized the human society, the freedom from slavery, justice from violence, democracy from reaction, culture from obscurantism, life from death. Unfortunately, not only the rulers of Serbia, but also a good part of its people are swept over by a savage and aggressive nationalism. It threatens to turn the whole of Yugoslavia into a battlefield, in which all will suffer and no one will win. To the Albanians belongs the historic merit that they were the first in Yugoslavia to raise and counterpose through their blood to this Serbian nationalism.

The resistance of the Albanian population, Prof. Sofokli Lazri pointed out, its demands, represent today the most democratic trend in Yugoslavia, the most powerful impulse for a civilised and progressive society in this country, for the creation of a humane community of its nations, for Yugoslavia's opening to Europe and the world. The future of Yugoslavia depends on the way the Kosovo problem will be solved.

An immense state terror has burst out in Kosovo by the Serbian rulers. Everything there is attacked, denied, and oppressed. They are seeking to transform the Albanians into fourth-hand citizens, without any right, into genuine rajas [Christian serfs under the Ottoman Empire]. Repression is so great, the gloomy chauvinist plans are fatal. But history has proved that the Albanians do not subdue either by violence or deception. They will defend their rights just as they have done through centuries, although it might take whole centuries. No force, however savage and brutal, can dominate their free spirit. No one can extinguish their struggle for freedom and justice. This is testified also by the book which comprises writings of the Kosovo intellectuals.

The writer Ismail Kadare, who took the floor, pointed out that this is the book on the truth of Kosovo, and as such is at the same time the book of its courage, of its justice. The truth on Kosovo cannot come out and elaborated in hysterical chauvinist rallies. The truth on Kosovo, its right, comes out through such books as the one we are dealing with.

For years on end the Serb chauvinists have made efforts to deform the struggle of the Albanians in Kosovo, to throw mud at it, applying to it different epithets. The Serb chauvinists have striven for years on end and particularly during the recent years to seduce themselves and then the others, with the concept that the Albanians do not merit, are not prepared for democracy, do not merit the human rights. The human rights, of which they have raised a hue and cry, may be according to them different in various countries and for different peoples. It was not only the savage Serb chauvinism that clashed in Kosovo, with the freedom of the Albanian people, he continued, there clashed not only the state violence with democracy, but besides the others, the high culture of the Albanians with the savage and inferior chauvinist culture.

This book, Ismail Kadare, stressed further on, is a real hymn for democracy. Much is spoken for democracy in the world and many hymns are chanted on it. But real hymns are composed there where there is terror. This is a book showing how the human rights and freedoms cannot exist without the freedoms of the peoples just like the peoples' freedoms cannot be conceived without the human rights. The Albanian intellectuals have kneeled down the Serb chauvinistic intellectuals with this book. In this way, today the Albanian intellectuals are the honour of the Balkan intellectuals, they are the honour of the intellectuals of Europe.

This book makes the Balkan peoples, these ancient people, wise and brave hope that they will manage through their common courage and wisdom to bridle the Serb chauvinism, to wipe out this black plague from our peninsula. Therefore, he said in conclusion, this is an important book, besides others, for the Albanians, for all the Balkan peoples, for all Europe which is so worried at present.

The Kosovo intellectuals know to defend the cause of their people, said among others Prof. Arben Puto in his speech. While reading this book a double feeling overcomes you: on the one hand the pain for the tragedy of the Albanian population, on the other hand a feeling of joy and pride we all experience when we see that the people of Kosovo has reared a whole army of skillful, courageous, self-denying intellectuals with a broad horizon, who know to have their say with dignity, wisdom, and great competence. This increases also the confidence that the cause of the people of Kosovo will be crowned with success.

Further on he stressed that the cause of Kosovo has assumed other proportions, it has a wide repercussion in Europe and in the world as well. It has assumed an international character. Here too, the Kosovo intellectuals have played and are playing a great role. Their voice is heard everywhere in the foreign world. The press organs, radios have published and broadcast their writings and interviews. In conclusion Prof. Arben Puto said that along with the worry we felt for their destinies, we are also optimistic and wholeheartedly wish that a vital people with such a courageous and devoted intelligentsia will see better days.

Editors, scholars and others spoke also in this ceremony. They pointed out the great ideas and values of this book. Artists of the national theater recited parts from the creativeness of our poets and Kosovo ones.

DRITA: TANJUG's 'Sick Chauvinist Fantasy'

AU0602183990 Tirana DRITA in Albanian 21 Jan 90 p 1-2

[Skender Bucpapaj, Rudolf Marku article: "Poor Chauvinists, This Is How They End the 20th Century, and Start the 21st!"]

[Excerpts]

How Often Have They Thumped Their Chests

Once upon a time our chauvinist Serbian neighbors used to portray us Albanians to the world as "people with tails," "the redskins of Europe," who "do not know what salt is and think that sugar is snow," and who "drink the warm blood of their flayed victims." This was the case 100 years ago and at the beginning of this century. The world was not well informed at the time, and there were some who trusted what "the Belgrade market" supplied. However, now that communications are such that what used to take a year to filter through is now reported within one second, and the world appreciates our contribution to civilization and human emancipation, how can the Great Serbs serve up such grotesque and stale goods about us? It seems that whenever they judge current events, they regress to that semi-primitive condition in which they first emerged from the forests of Asia and first met our ancestors in the Balkan peninsula. It is said that in such cases, when people quite consciously lie and tell tales, they enter a genuine state of delirium and are totally incapable of logic. However, a kind of logic impels the Serbs and those who support them, the logic of surrounding themselves with a fog of obfuscation in order to conceal their crimes against the Albanian people in Yugoslavia and the other peoples of the federation. While the very earth flames under their feet, they announce to the world that in Albania, in Shkoder, and elsewhere, something terrible is happening.... Thus they reveal their own longings and hopes, and again regress to the last century.

This was the gist of our recent conversation with the outstanding novelist Skender Drini. He had come from Shkoder to deliver to the press a new work which deals with the survival of the Albanians in the face of the chauvinist ambitions of their northern neighbors. How often the poor kings [kralj—Serbo-Croatian in original] have thumped their chests in front of their ladies [gospodjice—Serbo-Croatian in original] and promised that they would have breakfast in their own homes, but the Albanians would serve them dinner in Shkoder. This always went down the same drain, and is today a bad dream with no more sparkle to it than 2,000-year-old wine. Poor chauvinists, this is how they end the 20th century and start the 21st! [passage omitted]]

"Four Hanged Students" in Search of TANJUG

"Four students hanged, accused of being enemies of communism," Belgrade hastens to inform the world, flooding the ether with slander, lies, and inventions. How ironic! The Serbian chauvinists, who have steeped their Rankovicite hands [reference to Aleksandar Rankovic, in charge of SFRY security services until 1966] in the blood of thousands and thousands of Albanians and others, now use these same hands to wipe away their tears for four "hanged" Albanian students. Democracy and human rights have found a "haven" in this wreck of a state, just as a condemned man finds a "haven" in the electric chair. This is what we were told by Rudina Mullai and Ardian Nikaj, second-year students of English at the Enver Hoxha University of Tirana.

There is a lot of anger in what they say, but also a sense of the ridiculous, as is usual with students. They wonder who TANJUG would want to put back on the throne. None other than the son of the former king. It is like a drowning man clutching at his own hair to save himself. [passage omitted]

"Four hanged students in search of TANJUG," says Auron Dode, fourth-year student at the Faculty of History and Philology, adapting the title of Pirandello's well-known play, "Six Characters in Search of an Author." "But written as a comedy this time!" he adds. "It would resemble an absurdist drama," his friend Edmond Nemecka adds, "of the kind that the Yugoslavs themselves think is up-to-date. Just imagine four imaginary hanged characters, the creations of sick chauvinist fantasy, searching for their author through the corridors of the Yugoslav news agency..." [passage omitted]

Such conversations and retorts now issue from the hearts and minds of a people who stand firm, clear-headed, honest, courageous, and wise in the face of the storm raised by the slander-mongers and the crazy heresies of those who control them. Our logic works with the sound logic of the times: We only tell the truth.

Marko Protests 'Nationalist Violence' in Kosovo

AU0702154390 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 2 Feb 90 p 1

[ATA report on Durres meeting to discuss decisions of ninth Albanian Workers Party Central Committee plenum in Durres; date not given: "Our People Angrily Condemn the Policy of Terror in Kosovo;" "The Shattering Events in Kosovo—At the Center of Attention of Our Public Opinion"]

[Excerpts] A meeting with distinguished workers, communists, cadres, activists from mass organizations, veterans, and others was organized at the Aleksander Moisiu theater in the city of Durres to work out the material of the ninth Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee plenum.

The meeting was also attended by Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Muho Asllani, Durres District AWP Committee first secretary, and other comrades.

Comrade Rita Marko also addressed the meeting. [passage omitted] Speaking about the latest events in Kosovo, the savage and unprecedented violence that has erupted there, the murder of Albanians, and their imprisonment and torture, he said among other things:

All legal and human rights are being violated in Kosovo. From what we hear and see, the complete arbitrariness of those in power and unchecked police violence reign there.

Our people are very concerned by these unworthy and inhuman acts against the Albanians in Yugoslavia.

What is being trampled upon in Kosovo are not only the rights sanctioned by the Yugoslav Constitution, which is still in power, but also a number of international conventions that Yugoslavia has signed and is obliged to implement.

The Albanians in Kosovo are neither separatists nor terrorists, as they are being labelled by those who wish to conceal and justify their crimes. What they are demanding is that the problems of Kosovo be resolved not through tanks, but in a democratic way. They want to be equal citizens like other peoples in Yugoslavia. They want respect for their undeniable national rights, traditions, and identity. These demands are considered to be just and legitimate by most of Yugoslav society, by those who see that the crisis can only be resolved through democratization.

It has been proven by now that violence and arbitrariness against the Albanians in Kosovo is counterproductive. The Yugoslav crisis itself is proof of this.

Therefore, the sooner that the the nationalist violence in Kosovo ends, the sooner that the unjustified state of emergency is lifted, and the sooner that an end is put to political trials, the better it will serve reconciliation and peaceful coexistence, as well as the strengthening of peace and security in our Balkan region. [passage omitted]

Workers Denounce Kosovo 'Policy of Terror'

AU0702154790

[Editorial Report] Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian on 3 February carries on pages one and two a total of 1,200 words of reports on the views of working people from various districts, under the headline, "Our People Angrily Denounce the Policy of Terror in Kosovo."

Under the subhead, "The Kosovars Are Right," a report by Ilir Buzali states: "Liqenas is a village on Lake Prespa in Korce District, where cooperativists and inhabitants of the Macedonian nationality live and work freely and contentedly. The Declaration of the Democratic Front has been discussed here too. Naun Nauni, and elderly cooperativist, is reported as saying: "When I hear about recent events in Kosovo, it is as if the wartime crimes of the Nazis passed before my eyes." The "distinguished cooperativist" Nikolinka Vangjelovcka is reported as saying: "My eyes fill with tears when I see how inhumanly the Kosovars are treated. This has increased even further my hatred for the Great Serbs. When we compare these things with our happy life and our position in Albania with the same rights as the Albanian people, we redouble our efforts to make our lives even more prosperous."

The cultural worker Pando Thanasi is reported as saying: "Our young people are happy. We have schools in our mother tongue, and have preserved our traditions and customs. When you pass through the villages of our region you can notice another fine tradition: Cooperativists working in the fields are never without a song on their lips, while Kosovar young people are shedding their blood on the streets and in their own homes, merely for demanding their rights. These days, we all say, 'Kosovari imet pravo.'" [Macedonian—The Kosovars are right.]

Economic Delegation Begins Talks in Turkey

AU0502143690 Tirana ATA in English 0947 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Tirana, February 5 (ATA)—The Albanian government delegation headed by the minister of light industry, Vito Kapo, which will take part in the proceedings of the second session of the Albanian-Turkish Joint Commission on Economic, Trade, Industrial and Technical Cooperation, left for the Republic of Turkey. At the airport, the delegation was seen off by the chairman of the State Planning Commission, Niko Gjyzari; head of department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bashkim Dino; and other comrades. Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey to the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Teoman Surenkok.

On February 4, the Albanian delegation arrived in Turkey. At the Esenboga Airport of Ankara, it was received by the minister of state of the Republic of Turkey, Ismet Ozarslan, and by the director general of the Agreement Department at the Undersecretariat of Treasury and of Foreign trade, Erdogan Nurbes.

Present were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania to the Turkish Republic, Nesip Kaci.

State Minister Receives Kapo

AU0702131990 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Tirana, February 7 (ATA)—The minister of state of the Republic of Turkey, Ismet Ozaslan, received in Ankara the minister of the light industry and leader of the delegation of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania in the Albanian-Turkish Joint Commission for the Economic, Trade, Industrial and Technical Cooperation, Vito Kapo. After this meeting which proceeded in warm and friendly atmosphere, the second session of this commission was conducted.

The Minister of State Ozaslan underscored among others during the meeting that both parties have political will to further develop our economic-trade exchanges so that they respond to the relations of friendship between the two countries. The minister of light industry, Vito Kapo, on her part, emphasized that the Albanian side is also of the opinion that possibilities exist to intensify the economic, trade, industrial and technical cooperation and that the Albanian delegation is prepared to materialize this cooperation.

Turkey's Akbulut Accepts Invitation

AU0702201890 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Today Yildirim Akbulut, prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, received Vito Kapo, minister of light industry of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who leads the Albanian delegation at the second session of the Albanian-Turkish Joint Commission for Economic, Trade, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation.

Vito Kapo handed to the prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, Yildirim Akbulut, a message by Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in which, among other things, the Turkish prime minister is invited to make a friendly and official visit to Albania. Yildirim Akbulut accepted the invitation and stressed that he will visit Albania with pleasure.

At the meeting, which was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, the two sides evaluated the progress in the relations between the two countries in various fields of mutual interest and stressed that both sides are determined to further promote friendly relations between the two countries, and help strengthen stability in the Balkans.

The meeting was also attended by Nesip Kaci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the Republic of Turkey.

Carcani Urges 'Mobilization' at District Plenum

AU0702103590 Tirana ATA in English 0743 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Tirana, February 7 (ATA)—Recently, the plenum of Kruje District Party Committee convened. Attending was also Comrade Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The report submitted by the first secretary of the District Party Committee, Qemal Bregasi, and the contributions of the members of the plenum and guests, specialists of various fields, communists and non-party members, laid the stress on the work done in the district of Kruje to supply the people in the city and countryside with food articles, industrial commodities and mass consumer goods. The plenum set some decisions and targets to further augment the agricultural and livestock products, in the context of implementing the decisions of the 9th plenum of the party Central Committee and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia.

Comrade Adil Carcani too took the floor at the plenum. He analysed in length the decisions of the 9th plenum of the party Central Committee. Having analysed the changes that took place in the East European countries Comrade Adil Carcani stressed that the tasks set by the 9th plenum are a logical continuation of the work of the party for its further revolutionization, something that is done time and again in the course of all its history.

Dwelling on the measures that should be taken for the revolutionization of the life of the party and country, he dwelt particularly on the measures that should be adopted to strengthen socialist democracy, to enhance the role of the masses in the whole social activity, to improve socialist legislation and particularly to enliven the motive forces of socialist production such as the enhancing of the competence of grass-root organisations, the strengthening of the economic running and the improvement of some aspects regarding the relations in production as in the field of prices and wages, etc.

Comrade Adil Carcani stressed that the first and important task set to the party organs and organizations and their levers is the deep political understanding of the decisions of the 9th plenum of the party Central Committee and their full application. At any time, put particularly in the current situations, the increase of the production of consumer goods and the supply of market with agricultural and livestock products which are linked with the well- being of the people as well as with all the

problems that have to do with the intensive development of economy assume a special and first hand importance.

He appreciated the decision adopted by the plenum of the District Party Committee with concrete targets and measures to promote the work in the sector of livestock, particularly the tasks to augment the delivery of meat from the concentrated flocks by 2,200 quintals.

The decision of the Council of Ministers to augment meat production will have a positive impact, Comrade Adil Carcani said.

Then Comrade Adil Carcani spoke of the tasks emerging for the increase of the milk production, the increase of the vegetable production in assortments the year round, as well as for trading in the excess of agricultural and livestock products.

Comrade Adil Carcani spoke also of some problems of the international situation, especially on the events in Kosovo. He condemned the violence and terror exercised by the Serb chauvinists against the Albanian population, which in a legitimate way calls for its democratic rights.

In conclusion he expressed the conviction that the working people of Kruje District will further enhance the mobilisation and drive at work to translate into life the decisions of the 9th plenum of the party Central Committee, will further steel the unity round the party, its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, will translate into life the tasks of the last year of the 8th five year plan.

Leaders' Public Appearances 27 Jan-2 Feb

AU0302173990

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 27 January - 2 February reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of report given in parentheses):

Rita Marko and Muho Asllani, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee Politburo members, attended a meeting on the implementation of the tasks of the Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum in the city of Durres on 1 February. (1900 GMT 1 Feb 90)

Roundtable Negotiations 'Going Slowly'

AU0702141890 Sofia BTA in English 1323 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 7 (BTA)—Bearing in mind the willingness expressed by the ruling circles and the opposition delegates that the roundtable will soon come to practical solutions, negotiations are going slowly. Today's session passed in discussion of the issue about the primary party organizations at workplaces. (At present only the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] has such kind of organizations). Zhelyu Zhelev, the chairman of the Democratic Forces, characterized the situation as paradoxical: At the roundtable there is agreement on the major issue—the need to dismantle the totalitarian system—and on many points, but no practical solutions are undertaken.

The opposition explains the lagging with the Communist Party's wish to preserve until the elections its structures which give it advantages in spite of the dropping of the constitutional guarantees about its leading role. Opposition officials think that the BCP leadership will comply with the moods of the congress, at which many people spoke for preserving the primary organisations at workplaces. This is a priority issue for the opposition, as it is related to the state's unification with the BCP.

Without denying the importance of the issue, the BCP delegation insisted that it can be solved with the future law on the political parties.

Representatives of the Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS) proposed that the roundtable will present to the National Assembly an amendment to the Constitution for dissolving the primary party organizations and for the impossibility for any of the parties to form organizations at the workplaces.

The "survey" period is lasting rather long, but this can bring to an early agreement, said an SDS spokesman after the session. [sentence as received] The roundtable will continue on Monday, February 12, when it is possible to reach an agreement, whose draft will meanwhile be specified by representatives of the delegations, all the more that the two sides rejected the crisis of confidence in the round table and expressed the opinion that it should not be something like a symposium, but rather a political instrument for promoting the transition to a democratic society.

At the meeting with journalists the SDS spokesmen denied information about the existence of factions in the union. There are disputes in the SDS, but there are no fundamental differences, nor dissensions in principle, the SDS spokesmen said.

The roundtable elected representatives to meet the Muslims who had arrived from the county. The chief mufti stated their demands at the session: to give back the dwellings of the Bulgarian citizens who have arrived from Turkey and appoint them at their former workplaces.

Kremikovtski Metalworkers Declare Strike

AU0802103090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] At a protest rally held in Sofia today, over 2,000 metalworkers from the Kremikovtsi Company declared a strike. The workers produce electrically welded pipes in the pipe-rolling mill. There will be no production of considerable quantities of spare parts in the company's repair division. The production flow in the cold-rolling division has also been interrupted.

A strike committee has been set up at the company, which will draw up a statement of the strikers' demands, which will be submitted to the National Assembly.

Union Plenum Discusses Congress Platform

AU0502220290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] On 5 February at the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia, the Seventh Plenum of the Central Council of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Union took place.

Professor Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee, reported on the leadership's work after its election. In an analytical spirit, he reviewed the activity related to working out a general agreement with the government, preparing an anti-crisis program related to the strikes, and participating in the national roundtable.

Prof. Krustyu Petkov informed the plenum about the progress in preparing the forthcoming 11th Extraordinary Congress of the Trade Unions. He stressed that the congress must play a decisive role in asserting the independence of the Bulgarian trade unions and in turning them into a democratic alliance of the independent trade unions, united in a renewed confederation.

The plenum discussed and adopted a draft on the Statute of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions, and a draft law on settling collective labor disputes, as well as the basic elements of the trade unions' platform for their extraordinary congress. The issues of relieving the trade unions of state functions and control over labor protection were also reviewed.

Health Workers, Doctors Call Off Strikes

AU0202225390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] We will start the news with the health workers strike. A short time ago we were contacted on the telephone by Dr. Krustyu Krustev of the strike committee and Dr. Rumyana Chervenkova, member of the Interim Administrative Council of the Bulgarian Doctors Union. Here are their statements:

[Begin Krustev recording] Esteemed doctors, stomatologists, nurses, midwives, and medical orderlies:

I am speaking on behalf of the strike committee of the Trade Union Organization of the Health Workers in the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation.

The State Council has issued Decree No. 146, from which it becomes clear that the State Council accepts the retirement of Dr. Apostolov and Dr. Gulemanov, formerly deputy ministers of public health and social welfare. Dr. Boris Mikhov is also relieved from his post since yesterday.

By our joint efforts, we have made a start on renewing the health-care system. I thank all of you for the unity you have displayed, and declare the strike ended. [end recording]

[Begin Chervenkova recording] Declaration of the Bulgarian Doctors Union:

The leadership of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare has tendered its resignation, thereby recognizing that the bad condition of the health care of the Bulgarian people is a result of the administrative-totalitarian system. The responsibility for the strike held by the health workers, and especially its long duration, totally rests with those who have been members until now of the leadership of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare.

The Bulgarian doctors, stomatologists, and all other medical personnel have achieved their first goal, to clear the way for renewing health care in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

For this reason, the Bulgarian Doctors Union ends the strike.

The Bulgarian Doctors Union will start a dialogue tomorrow with all the organizations with an interest in Bulgarian health care, members of the public concerned with health issues, and the population in order to achieve our second, most important goal—a radical reform in the organization of health care in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. [end recording]

Trade Unions Protest Podkrepa 'Disinformation'

AU0302211590 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 1 Feb 90 p 4

[Text] The Federation of Trade Union Organizations of the Mines, Metallurgical and Energy Industries, and Geology declare a sharp protest against the rude attempts that are being made by representatives of the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation to spread disinformation and manipulate public opinion in the country.

In the news program "Around the World and at Home" on 30 January, it was announced that after the talks between the central strike committee under the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation and Mincho Yovchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, an agreement was reached that Bulgarian miners should be able to retire on pension at the age of 45.

We are duty bound to declare that this is a gross distortion of the true picture, which is as follows:

On 22 January, the miners of the "Gorubso" State Company and other mines began a strike. On 24 January, representatives of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions and the Federation of Trade Union Organizations of the Mines, Metallurgical and Energy Industries, and Geology held a meeting at the Council of Ministers with Comrades G. Atanasov and Mincho Yovchev and set out the main demands of the miners, the first of which was the claim for retirement on pension at 45.

The next day, 25 January, the miners collectives throughout the country received Council of Ministers Decree No. 7 of 24 January 1990, which had been prepared according to our proposal and which settled the issues related to the pensioning of miners and certain other professions.

The strike of over 15,000 miners, which was supported by the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions and the Federation of Trade Union Organizations of the Mines, Metallurgical and Energy Industries, and Geology, was called off, and a work program was implemented to make up the lost production.

The central strike committee under the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation, which enjoyed the support of no more than 900 persons from various professions, held talks with Mincho Yovchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, on 29 January, that is, five days after the date of issue of the decree.

We protest against the announcement broadcast by the Information Directorate of Bulgarian Television, in which the facts are wrongly represented and an opportunity provided for representatives of the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation to claim nonexistent services of merit.

No one has the right to mislead over 60,000 miners, who are members of our federation, or indeed all the Bulgarian people. Glasnost does not mean disinformation!

31 January 1990, the Federation of Trade Union Organizations of the Mines, Metallurgical and Energy Industries, and Geology.

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On 30 January, in the program "Around the World and at Home" on Bulgarian Television, a statement was made by a representative of the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation regarding their services in settling the basic claims made by the miners.

We wish to draw attention to the facts. Decree No. 7 was signed on 24 January as a result of the negotiations held between the government, the company's management,

and the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions. The meeting of representatives of the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation with Comrade Mincho Yovchev took place on 30 January.

With regard to this statement by the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation, the 14,000-strong collective of the "Gorubso"-Madan Company is outraged by the conduct of the Bulgarian Television and the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation, which continue to distort and invent facts and to manipulate public opinion, which does not do them honor.

We once again categorically insist that the statement made by the representative of the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation on Bulgarian Television be refuted. If not, the many-thousands-strong collective of the "Gorubso" Company will declare a two-hour warning strike, which we are ready to make a real one.

[Signed] Ivan Stanchev, chairman of the Trade Union Committee of the "Gorubso" Company.

On behalf of the strike committee: D. Dimitrov, chairman; S. Borisov, secretary; and E. Milev, spokesman.

Independent Unions Note 101 Labor Disputes

AU1901180990 Sofia BTA in English 1651 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 19 (BTA)—A hundred and one labour conflicts have been registered by the independent Bulgarian trade unions in the period December 25, 1989, to January 10, 1990, without taking into consideration the general symbolic strikes declared by the Podkrepa Independent Labour Federation on December 27 and 28, or the strikes related to the national issue.

Most numerous have been the strikes in construction, in mining, metallurgy, machine building, transport and medical care. Over 42,000 people went on strike due to low payments, poor labour conditions, incorrect action on part of the administration, etc.

In 21 of the labour conflicts the strikers' demands have been fully met, while for some of the remaining ones written agreements have been prepared. Strikes are continuing where this has not been done.

In 61 of the labour conflicts a "vote of no confidence" was given to the local trade union leadership and its "active members" have been replaced.

The most often met demands are for objective information about the financial and technical state of the respective company, a sharp reduction of the administration and relieving of discredited managers, organizing of rhythmic supply with raw materials and materials, replacement of the outdated machinery and equipment, improvement of work conditions and safety, etc.

The construction of the new Belene nuclear power station, which is widely discussed, caused a four-day strike. In January the builders of the station declared a strike with a major demand to form a governmental commission with the participation of foreign experts which was to ascertain whether all ecological requirements and safety were observed in the project.

On 9 January there was an announcement about a 20-day hunger strike of 100 Bulgarian doctors and nurses working in Libya. The medical workers protested against the low payment and the large taxes on their remunerations in convertible currency.

Most active in the protection of their interests are the working people in Sofia and the environs and in the Mikhaylovgrad Region, northern Bulgaria, as the information unit of the independent Bulgarian trade unions announced.

The pilots from the Bulgarian Civil Aviation have declared a warning four-hour strike for January 22, and are negotiating with the leadership of the National Balkan Airlines with a special requirement that their residential problems be solved.

Union Position on Labor Conflicts, Strikes

AU0402221490 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 24 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Position of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions on the Tense Situation That Emerged, Caused by the Increasing Number of Labor Conflicts, Disputes"]

[Text] The country is engulfed in a wave of strikes that can confront us with economic ruin and political destabilization.

In recent weeks, the demands of the working people from various social groups and professions, labor collectives, and even entire spheres and branches radically exacerbated the social tension. The demands are related first of all to obtaining a higher classification of the labor category in determining pensions, improving labor conditions, obtaining better and more just wages, observing the Labor Code, introducing changes in economic and other structures, cutting the administrative personnel, and expressing dissatisfaction with the behavior and activity of managers and leading organs.

We are convinced that most of the demands are justified and reasonable. They are the grave heritage of the period of an authoritarian government, in which the problems of people and the labor collectives were put in last place. They are the sad result of the contradictions in and the imperfection of the existing laws and legal acts, as well as the result of the long-lasting neglect and idleness of those who had the obligation to satisfy those demands.

Today the dissatisfaction also grows because of the fact that there is no authoritative position on any of the great issues that affect working Bulgaria and problems are

being resolved in accordance with pressure, namely, in an incomplete and inconsistent manner.

The Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions support and defend the just demands of the working people. The Provisional Executive Committee of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions adopted active measures for resolving many urgent problems.

—A draft on a general agreement with the government for 1990 has been introduced. Negotiations on signing are being conducted.

—A Law on Increasing Minimum Pensions was adopted at our initiative, and the maximum pensions were limited.

—We have prepared and intend to introduce within the government a package of proposals that affects labor's remuneration, bonuses, additional payments, and the labor conditions of hundreds of thousands of people, and restores and significantly increases the rights of people in management.

—The issues of reclassifying the labor categories and pensions in many branches was done with our support.

Simultaneously, we are seriously concerned with the fact that many of the demands are presented in the form of an ultimatum and with the demand to resolve them immediately. Real strikes are initiated even before an attempt is made to resolve the issue through a civilized dialogue or by other means. A serious threat lies herein. This situation leads toward ignoring the existing legal order and frequently satisfying the demands of a collective or a trade union group at the expense of other collectives and trade union groups. A serious threat of escalating the demands and developing the wave of strikes is imminent. This is not the outcome of the crisis and it does not correspond to the long-lasting, vital interests of the working people themselves.

In the complex situation that has emerged in the country, and while recognizing the right of the labor collectives alone to select their means of action, including strikes, we think that a calm situation is necessary in order to carefully and thoroughly study all demands. Mutually acceptable terms are to be specified under conditions of equal dialogue and reliable guarantees of satisfying the demands are to be sought.

As far as issues of national importance are concerned, our fundamental position is that they must be resolved through a general agreement with the government, by adopting a law on social security, a law on resolving collective labor disputes, a law on amendments and addenda to the Labor Code, a law on economic activity, and so forth. We think that the preparation of those laws must be completed as soon as possible with the broad participation of the representatives of various groups of working people and by conducting a national referendum. Thus, conditions will be created for fundamentally and justly resolving the entire cluster of problems that have accumulated.

We appeal to demonstrate everywhere prudence and a high sense of responsibility in order to ensure normal conditions of resolving the problems and work because this is the only way of overcoming the crisis in which we find ourselves.

Data on Economic Situation Noted

AU2901225490 Sofia BTA in English 1923 GMT 29 Jan 90

["Bulgarian Statistics Make Unprecedented Mention of Stagnation, Slump"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 29 (BTA)—"The negative phenomena and problems which have been building up in the course of many years and the serious political, economic and social errors" are mainly to blame for the destablization of the Bulgarian economy, says the Central Statistical Board in a precedent-setting announcement which was released for publication here today.

The 1989 economic figures show that the national income fell 0.4 per cent from 1988. Total industrial output grew 1.1 per cent and farm production declined 0.4 per cent. Bulgaria's foreign trade dropped 8 per cent and domestic investment shrunk 7.7 per cent. Compared to 1988, 18 per cent less production facilities went into operation in 1989 and the amount of manpower in employment diminished by 2.8 per cent, while the average wage of economy employees rose 5.3 per cent.

Between 1981 and 1985 Bulgaria's national income grew by an average annual 3.7 per cent, which declined to 3.1 per cent between 1986 and 1989. The 1988 increase was 2.4 per cent and 1989 is estimated to have witnessed a 0.4 per cent drop.

"The 1989 growth rates were affected particularly adversely by the economic performance in December when industrial output plummetted 12.7 per cent from the like period in 1988. The manpower shortage resulting from the mass migration of the population had its negative impact, too. Between June and December 1989 the national economy employed about 170,000 people less than in the same period of 1988. The losses incurred by the exodus were not offset despite the workforces' initiative to work extra time and on some days off. A total of 217 state-owned companies (42 per cent of all state companies) decreased their production from 1988. The output of major industrial products and farm produce, as well as of basic consumer goods, plunged from their 1988 levels," the announcement says.

Between June and December 1989, nearly 400,000 Bulgarian citizens left for Turkey, and over 100,000 of them have repatriated so far.

Two days ago Mr Belcho Belchev, minister of finance, said that due to the strike wave, in December 1988 Bulgaria generated a gross national product which was approximately 13 per cent below the year-earlier level.

According to statistics there is a significant quantitative growth of Bulgaria's industrial potential, the value of which amounted to 90 billion leva at the end of 1989. About 40 per cent of the production funds, however, have been used for more than 10 years, and a significant amount are fully depreciated. This refers mainly to energy, metallurgy, the chemical, foodstuffs and light industry as well as to agriculture.

Machine building and electronics have already priority in industrial production, some 33.3 per cent in 1989. At the same time the relative share of the light and foodstuffs industry is constantly reducing: In 1985 it amounted to 33.8 of production while in 1989 31.4 per cent.

"In 1989 the construction was launched of a new, company-based organization of the economic activity in this country. By the end of 1989 1295 companies were registered (not counting the one-man private companies of citizens). These companies turned out 65 per cent of the production in the non-agricultural branches. The companies with state property number 463 while these with municipal 615. The founding of these companies without a sufficiently clear legal framework and without experimenting the economic conditions and regulators, the rude administering in the formation of many of the companies did not allow this organization of the economic activity to show its advantages. The major part of their balance profit, about 70 per cent, was directed to the state budget and the municipalities," the announcement reads, "while for expansion and technological renewal of industry the means were reduced by 20 per cent compared to 1988."

At the same time there has been an unjustified growth of the salary which increased inflation. The production of significant raw materials and materials as well as of articles manufactured under joint production contracts which was insufficient and, in a number of cases, reduced as compared with 1988, has broken the technological relations in industry.

"The indicated basic trends in the country's development in 1989 outline the complex, crisis state of the Bulgarian economy," the announcement reads.

Zhivkov, Others Stripped of Awards, Medals

AU0702203990 Sofia BTA in English
1819 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 7 (BTA)—By decree of the State Council Todor Zhivkov, Grisha Filipov, Milko Balev, Dimitur Stoyanov, Georgi Dzhagarov, Petko Danchev, Nikola Stefanov and Vladimir Zhivkov were stripped of their titles, orders and medals for grave violation of the Bulgarian Constitution, the laws and the socialist ethics and for gross errors which resulted in great abuses in society and the socioeconomic development of the country.

Also by decree of the State Council Nicolae Ceausescu, Elena Ceausescu, Nicu Ceausescu, Erich Honecker, Margot Honecker, Guenther Mittag and Willi Stoph were stripped of their orders and medals for grave violation of the law in their own countries and for the damage inflicted on the cause of socialism, on the ideas of socialist justice and the international progressive movements.

Zhivkov's Condition in Hospital Described

AU0702140490 Sofia BTA in English
1241 GMT 7 Feb 90

["Due Strictness for Zhivkov In Hospital"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 7 (BTA)—We would like Zhivkov to be able to answer the questions, as well as be responsible for his actions. The change of his jail cell to a room in hospital is not a gesture of humanity but precaution, said in an interview for RABOTNICHESKO DELO Evtim Stoimenov, Bulgaria's chief prosecutor.

The investigation has not been interrupted, interrogations are held daily, depending on circumstances, the chief prosecutor says. The legal term for ending the investigation is March 18, but under reasons of particular importance it can stretch for another 6 months. "But we do not intend to drag out things," Stoimenov said firmly. "A great amount of work is awaiting us."

Zhivkov is treated with due strictness in the hospital room, too. All precautions are taken so as he would not run away or commit suicide. He is isolated from the outside world: He does not meet anybody besides the officials nor does he receive newspapers, or watch TV.

The difficult way towards establishing the truth about the submitted charges is continuing, the interview reads.

BZNS 'Refuses To Take Part' in New Cabinet

AU0702175690 Sofia BTA in English
1725 GMT 7 Febb 90

["BZNS Won't Join New Cabinet"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 7 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) will only take part in a BZNS-proposed broadly representative government of national consensus.

This decision was adopted unanimously today by the Ruling Council and the parliamentary faction of the Agrarian Party. In this way the BZNS practically refuses to take part in the new cabinet, the consultations for the formation of which are going on here after Mr Georgi Atanasov's government resigned at the end of last week.

Mr Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the BZNS, expressed regret over the lack of positive practical results of the BZNS idea on the formation of a coalition government of national consensus. He said that from now on the BZNS will attend the round-table talks independently and called on the opposition Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party to join the BZNS. Mr Angel Dimitrov reaffirmed his party's commitment to a policy of agrarian unity and said that the BZNS will keep seeking constructive dialogue and cooperation with the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

The BZNS secretary said that nearly 6,000 new members have joined the party since November 10, 1989. Over 300 people have left the party ranks, and most of them have joined the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

Mr Lazar Ralchev, a senior BZNS functionary, was expelled from the Ruling Council due to his joining the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

The Agrarian Party suggested that the National Assembly dissolve itself immediately after passing all laws needed for the organisation of the free elections (on the electoral system, on political parties and associations, etc.). Mr Angel Dimitrov expressed the hope that the elections will be held in early May.

Today's decisions of the BZNS prove wrong the predictions of Mr Milan Drenchev, the leader of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party, who told the BTA yesterday that the BZNS has always sought to stay in power and implied that he expected the official Agrarian Party to take part in the new Cabinet.

Opposition Agrarians Hold 2d Conference

AU0302204890 Sofia BTA in English 1858 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 3 (BTA)—Today the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party (United) held here its second national conference, giving support to democracy and the revival of the Bulgarian countryside. For more than five hours the participants discussed the future of the Agrarian Party and the tragic events in 1947, when their leader Nikola Petkov was killed.

Nikodim Popov, member of the Provisional Leadership of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party (Nikola Petkov BZNS), made a political statement. The 1947 events were recalled when by virtue of a law enacted by the National Assembly the activity of the Nikola Petkov BZNS (United) was banned. It was underlined that action should be taken to find Nikola Petkov's grave.

Milan Drenchev, chairman of the Provisional Leadership of the Nikola Petkov BZNS, pointed out that it is beyond the powers of only one party or organization to save the country from the grave political and economic crisis. The crisis can be overcome only by the common efforts of the whole Bulgarian people. The moment is ripe for getting united, the two agrarian parties should unite in the name of the ideas of Aleksandur Stamboliyski and Nikola Petkov, he said.

The delegates adopted an address to the Bulgarian people which, among other things, says, "Now all strata of the Bulgarian society are in a dynamic and all-embracing process of politicization. The time will soon come when the people should make its fateful choice, in whom it should place trust in its hopes for Bulgaria's future. We call on the Bulgarian people, on all citizens, to recall the great and unequal battle which the Nikola Petkov BZNS fought in 1946-1947. We believe that the Bulgarian people will not forget how Aleksandur Stamboliyski's true and devoted followers fought for a free and dignified life, using words and faith as their weapons. For this courageous and unflinching struggle, for this inflexible will for democracy and freedom BZNS Secretary Nikola Petkov paid with his life. We call upon the Bulgarian people to unite themselves in the name of this noble and great personality and give its support in the future elections to the fighters for freedom and democracy."

BZNS Seeks Unity With Nikola Petkov Union

AU0202175190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 2 Feb 90

["Declaration" issued by the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union and read by spokesman Ivan Glushkov; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] In connection with the serious concern of thousands of BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] members with the union's unity and with statements of spokesmen for the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS in the mass media, I have been authorized to announce the following:

The BZNS leadership considers it its basic task to do everything possible to create favorable conditions for the unification with the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS and for the construction of a united, strong, and independent Agrarian Union. In order to achieve this goal, we already have conducted four talks with representatives of the provisional leadership of the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS. The talks took place in a friendly atmosphere and dealt with the issue of establishing an action committee for effecting the unification.

Therefore, we are puzzled by the improper attempts on the part of the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS to take over lower organizations of the BZNS in various places of the country. We think that this is not the road toward our unification. The real road leads through a honest and equal dialogue and mutual compromises, for which we are ready.

We greet the spontaneous striving of allied agrarians in many places, who are uniting in a united and renewed BZNS, adopting the new program and statute, and voicing their support of a new democratic Bulgaria in the

spirit of the ideals of the immortal Aleksandur Stamboliyski and Nikola Petkov. In the name of this Bulgaria, born on 10 November 1989, the BZNS is following a line that is not being determined by narrow-minded party interests, but exclusively by the interests of Bulgaria. This is the traditional line of the BZNS in its 90-year history. It aims at uniting all democratic forces to prevent national catastrophes.

At this dramatic moment for the country, the BZNS grasps its responsibility to the people and with its official proposal to form a broad and representative provisional government of national consensus demonstrated that it is prepared to assume this responsibility.

The independent and strong Agrarian Union will be one of the most reliable guarantees of Bulgaria's democratic future.

Resolution of Agrarian Council Meeting

AU0102183190

[Editorial Report] Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian on 31 January on pages 1 and 2 carries the 1,700-word "Resolution of the Meeting of the Administrative Council of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union (BZNS) held on 24 January 1990."

The resolution begins by noting that "as a result of the shortsighted agrarian policy followed until now, the Bulgarian countryside is in deep social decline, and agriculture is in a serious economic crisis." The reasons for this, according to the resolution, are "neglect of the primary economic importance of agriculture, the dispossession of landowners, shortsighted economic policy, the serious ecological situation, and distorted production relationships," all of which have alienated people from the land. The resolution states that the BZNS is therefore strongly putting forward to parliament and the government "its own political platform for the economic and social development of the Bulgarian countryside and agricultural production."

This platform, the resolution states, rests on giving first priority to reforming and developing agriculture. It calls for "the existence and development of cooperative, private, and state land ownership on an equal-rights basis, and of the basic means of agricultural production," with special attention to "the development of cooperative farms built on a democratic basis and run by agricultural owner-producers voluntarily united together." The resolution proposes the basic principle that "the land should belong to those who cultivate it," and states that the BZNS will campaign for "radical changes in the economic mechanism and the redistribution processes in the national economy." The resolution's demands include "the consistent introduction of a market mechanism and a new pricing policy," tax incentives for agriculture, "canceling of agriculture's bank debts to the Bulgarian National Bank," special agricultural credit facilities, more capital investment, and spreading insurance risks "over the whole of society."

The Administrative Council's resolution urges the following industrial reforms to benefit agriculture: giving priority to agriculture machine building, ensuring improved and regular supplies of fertilizers and plant and animal protection agents from the chemical industry, and instructing "all other industry sectors to give due place in their programs to tasks relating to agriculture and the processing industry."

The final section of the resolution proposes measures to encourage farming in upland and mountain regions and stem the migration from the country to the towns by improving the rural socioeconomic and cultural infrastructure.

In conclusion, the resolution states that "the BZNS is convinced that the revival of Bulgarian agriculture and the Bulgarian countryside is a fundamental issue for Bulgaria, for our future, and for our drawing closer to Europe and the world," and is willing to cooperate with any political forces in order to achieve these ends.

Students Demand 18-Month Military Service

AU0602140090 Sofia BTA in English 1253 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Students Insist on 18-Month Army Service"]

[Text] Sofia, February 6 (BTA)—The Coordinating Committee of the Federation of Independent Student Associations proposes to reduce the term of the national service in the Army to 18 months.

A declaration published by the COURIER PRESS Service of the BTA insists on releasing all soldiers who are admitted to higher education establishments or are university graduates.

The federation also suggests to introduce an alternative civil service for young people who cannot carry weapons because of moral or religious reasons.

The Independent Student Associations call for abolishing the practice to retain soldiers three month after the expiry of the term for service in the Army specified by the law.

The Coordinating Committee proposes to present the proposals for discussion at the roundtable talks or the National Assembly.

The students remind that similar measures were taken in the USSR and Czechoslovakia. "Many countries cut down their military expenses and reduce the numerical strength of their armies. A step made by Bulgaria in this direction would be favorably received both in the country and abroad", the declaration says.

Students, Teachers Reject Educational Draft Bill

AU2201205690 Sofia BTA in English
1917 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—The collegiate autonomy bill cannot provide durable guarantees of independence, believe the participants in a rally held here today at the Higher Institute of Mechanical Engineering. Representatives of nine public organizations, official and independent, disagreed with the way the bill was made public (only after its first-reading passage).

The teachers and the undergraduates believe that the bill is imperfect and undemocratic because it gives great power to the Committee for Science and Higher Education and does not provide sufficient opportunities to the colleges to determine independently their organisational structure and to draw up their curriculums and syllabi.

A declaration, sent by the rally to the National Assembly and the mass media, suggests that parliament adjourn the final passage of the bill for its next session and that all alternative drafts worked out by students organizations be made public.

Security Employees Protest Accusations

AU0602210990 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] A letter from the Ministry of Internal Affairs has been received by Bulgarian Radio. The letter deals with recent broadcasts and publications in which the organs of the State Security have frequently been accused of committing illegal acts. Nobody says anything about the fact that those organs have acted, first of all, on the basis of their duty and in accordance with the laws that applied at the time, and that they were obliged to implements orders and instructions of high-ranking party and state organs, occasionally against their own conscience, the letter reads.

We, the authors of this letter, are employees of the State Security. We know that distortions had been allowed during Todor Zhivkov's totalitarian regime. However, those distortions have been committed by a narrow circle of people within the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The authors of the letter ask: Should all employees now be accused—those who seized weapons so that they would not be aimed at the people, who unmasked terrorist acts, who prevented the implementation of new terrorist acts, and who blocked international channels of drug smuggling?

The letter points out that since 10 November 1989, significant and radical changes have taken place. Services and units have been disbanded, and the number of employees was significantly reduced. A new doctrine of security and public order was worked out and presented at the National Assembly. A struggle is being waged for defending the constitutional order and the basic freedoms and rights of all citizens, the letter, signed by 80 employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, points out.

Georgiev Elected Chairman of Writers Union

AU0602200090 Sofia BTA in English
1841 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 6 (BTA)—Kolyu Georgiev is the new chairman of the Union of the Bulgarian Writers. He was elected at today's session of the managing board, at which 36 out of the total of 41 members were present.

The board accepted the resignation of the former Chairman Pavel Matev, at his request, and due to his poor health condition.

The 63-old Kolyu Georgiev was elected by an absolute majority. He received the most votes in the election of the managing board at the last congress of the Union of the Bulgarian Writers, held in March, 1989.

The new chairman is familiar to the Bulgarian public: mainly with his drama plays "Judges of Ourselves", "The Bluish-White Frost", "Fourth-Fifth by the Richter Scale."

Kolyu Georgiev was convicted at the age of 16 for his anti-fascist activities by a military tribunal and was in jail for a year and a half. He graduated in the Soviet Union. He has worked in RABOTNICHESKO DELO and in Radio Sofia. He was a repertoire director of the Youth Theatre, artistic director and director of the Sofia Drama Theatre. At the 14th Extraordinary BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Congress, held 5 days ago, he was elected member of the Supreme Council.

Radical-Democratic Party Holds Meeting

AU0702204890 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] On 7 February at Sofia's Yavorov Museum, a meeting of the Radical-Democratic Party took place. Dr. Elka Konstantinova, chairman of the party, and other party leaders briefed the participants on their position in the consultations on forming the new government that are taking place now.

Mikhail Nedelchev, literary critic, spoke about the danger and damage of cliquishness [partizanshtina] at the present political situation.

Organizational issues related to the structure of the Radical-Democratic Party and its political platform also were discussed. The demand for material basis was among the most pressing issues that were discussed.

Poet Dzhagarov Returns Party Membership Card

AU1901153190

[Editorial Report] Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian No. 3 of 18 January on page 3 carries a

2,500-word letter from Georgi Dzhagarov dated 20 December 1989 and addressed to "the primary party organization of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria."

The letter is preceded by the following editorial note:

"On 20 December 1989, Georgi Dzhagarov returned his party membership card to the primary organization of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, an act with which he naturally also resigned from the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. He also informed the chairman of the National Assembly that he was withdrawing from the BCP Parliamentary Group, and requested to be considered an independent member of the National Assembly until the end of the National Assembly's term.

"We have obtained Georgi Dzhagarov's consent to publish his letter to the primary party organization."

In his letter Dzhagarov describes his mature life since the time he joined the revolutionary youth movement in 1940, his arrest by the police in 1944, and his studies in Moscow, "when his doubts intensified and reached a critical point." He stresses his anguish with "the party's monopoly in all areas of life" and the "elimination of the democratic achievements of the Bulgarian citizens."

Dzhagarov later points out that after his election as deputy chairman of the State Council, "Zhivkov used to present him everywhere as his friend," whereas in fact he "had opposed many of Zhivkov's ideas and decisions for many years." Dzhagarov points out "the total responsibility of the BCP for asserting the administrative-command system." He reiterates his support of "the change of party leadership after 10 November," and adds that "without claiming any credit, I think that I somehow contributed to getting rid of the trouble that inflicted us."

In justifying his decision to leave the party, Dzhagarov emphasizes that "the borders of party discipline" predetermine one's behavior and thoughts, "therefore he does not feel himself free as a party member." He points out that he has decided to withdraw from all public activity and "apply himself to creative literary activities and tell and confess everything that has happened to him."

Resignation Reviewed

AU1901200590 Sofia BTA in English
1813 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 19 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Dzhagarov, the well-known writer, former State Council vice president and now a member of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] "voluntarily and deliberately" left the BCP. He stated this in his letter in LITERATUREN FRONT, from which it becomes clear that this decision to leave the party "was not sudden and accidental" and was accompanied by Dzhagarov's leaving the ruling party leadership and its parliamentary group. The BCP bears complete responsibility for the establishment of the command and administrative system, he said.

Until December 14 last year Georgi Dzhagarov was State Council vice president. He held this position for 18 years. According to his letter, as Todor Zhivkov's deputy in the state leadership he opposed the wrong policy concerning the nationality, agrarian and other issues. At a National Assembly session Mr Dzhagarov spoke about the State Council as a fictitious body of power, serving to cover the monocratic decisions of the former leader. In parliament he also criticised the nationality policy.

His statements were not greatly welcomed. An article appeared in RABOTNICHESKO DELO connected with his terminated relations with the Communist Party by Lieutenant Commander Vasil Danov, "Rats Jump First," in the column "A Letter of Anger." The author asked Dzhagarov why he hadn't handed in his resignation earlier. Some other issues were also broached which referred to the lieutenant commander's ex-literary idol.

Georgi Dzhagarov is a poet and a playwright whose works have been translated into Russian, French, German, English, Greek, Italian, Danish, Romanian and Polish. He was conferred the award for world poetry by the French Academy and is Doctor Honoris Causa of the Sorbonne. In 1985 Todor Zhivkov handed him the insignia for the title "Hero of Socialist Labour."

Georgi Dzhagarov became especially famous in the middle of the sixties with his play "The Public Prosecutor." This is an anti-Stalinist play and was one of the ideological banners of literature of the 1956 April plenum of the CC of the BCP after which there was a "thawing" in Bulgaria. Some time later some of the "April" poets became related with this country's leadership. Dzhagarov himself headed the Writers Union from 1966 till 1972. Unlike other people he thinks that this period "was characterized with narrowing of the field of dogmatism, sectarianism and police methods." The award for that, Dzhagarov goes on to explain, was that the Politburo of the CC of the BCP suddenly relieved him of his position of chairman of the Writers Union, "sacked me out of the literary life and appointed me vice president of the State Council." There are some other interpretations of this issue.

Georgi Dzhagarov intends now to devote himself fully to literary work.

New BCP Magazine Publication Announced

AU0702105690 Sofia BTA in English
0811 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 7 (BTA)—"News on the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party"] is the new BCP Magazine.

Its first issue, which came on the eve of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the BCP, runs articles about

the congress preparation, data and proposals on the BCP renewal, archive documents, shorthand protocols from the party plenum in 1945, information by Chervenkov on a meeting with Stalin in 1948, which set the beginning of Traycho Kostov's political murder.

In future, the magazine will be called "NEWS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE BCP. It will publish resolutions and documents of the central party bodies. Archives will be given due attention: Documents of the BCP history which only until recently were considered to be top secret are to be published for the first time and in an authentic form.

Mruchkov National Assembly Speech on Amnesty

AU1801152290 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Jan 90 pp 2, 3

[Report on statement by Vasil Mruchkov, deputy chairman of the State Council, at the 13th Session of the Ninth National Assembly in Sofia on 15 January]

[Text] Vasil Mruchkov, deputy chairman of the State Council, reported on the draft bill submitted by the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on an amnesty and on the remission of imposed sentences. He said: To a certain extent this draft bill is a novelty in the National Assembly's legislative practice. The novelty consists of the fact that the draft bill in question is expected to deal with two basic but different categories of questions.

On the one hand, the draft bill proposes an amnesty for certain criminal offenses.

On the other hand, it is aimed at the remission of sentences for a certain group of convicted individuals. This second category of questions is dealt with by Article 3 of the draft law. The settlement of this category of problems combines the two elements of amnesty and clemency. Nevertheless, it is not a proper pardon, because the convicted persons to whom the draft bill applies are not specifically named and only general criteria are established on the basis of which such individuals are expected to be exempt from serving the sentence imposed on them.

The persons who have committed the crimes described in Article 1 of the aforementioned draft bill shall be released from penalty and from the consequences of their sentence, according to the amensty.

The conditions for amnesty in the case of such crimes is that they were committed after 1 January 1984 and are connected with the change of names of Bulgarian citizens.

This amnesty is motivated by important social considerations related to national reconciliation. It is a realistic measure adopted by the state along the difficult path of reaching a consensus of the entire Bulgarian people in resolving the nationality issue, which upset our society in recent years, as a result of the abuses committed by the totalitarian regime in state administration matters.

After the draft bill in question has been adopted, 24 people who have committed the aforementioned crimes will be released from prison on the basis of Article 1 of the draft bill. I would like to point out that the number of these people is expected to exeed 40, provided the National Assembly adopts some additional proposals. This is not a large number, but the fact results from the two previous amnesties granted by the National Assembly at its 11th and 12th sessions in November and December 1989.

On the other hand, not only the number of the released prisoners, but the very fact of granting an amnesty for such crimes is politically important.

It was further proposed to grant an amnesty for nonpolitical crimes that are nevertheless connected with the change of Bulgarian citizens' names. The proposal is justified, considering that the crimes in question were committed as a reaction to the restrictions imposed on the rights and freedoms of this category of citizens.

Remission of imposed setences envisioned by Article 3 of the draft bill will apply to all prisoners. Approximately 240 prisoners who have been sentenced for crimes of negligence (crimes committed out of carelessness) and approximately 650 persons convicted for premeditated crimes will be released from serving their remaining prison terms. In the case of 6,500 convicted persons, their penalty will be reduced by one year, while the penalty of 1,450 people will be reduced by two years, and in the case of 450 prisoners the penalty will be reduced by three years. A total of 8,400 prisoners will benefit from the law, provided it is adopted by the National Assembly.

In addition, all those sentenced to corrective labor and forced resettlement, all those deprived of their rights of residence in a given inhabited settlement, and punished with a public reprimand will also be released from serving their penalty.

By 1 January 1990, the total number of prisoners in our country amounted to approximately 11,000 people, 1,700 of whom are accused and defendants, while the rest are serving prison sentences for crimes and offenses for which they have already been convicted. This means an average of 120 prisoners per 100,000 inhabitants of our country's population. For the sake of comparison, I should point out that this number is approximately 30 in some Scandinavian countries, 50 in Spain, and approximately 70 in the FRG.

Science and practical experience have confirmed that serving a prison term exceeding 10 years does not produce any educational effect, but results in the individual's physical and moral degradation. For these reasons, items 4 and 5 of Article 5 of the draft bill in question propose that penalties for particularly heavy

crimes connected with thefts and bribes that were punished with prison sentences up to 30 years should be reduced to 15 years. The penalty for misappropriation of large amounts, which in 1986 was increased from 20 to 30 years, should be reduced to 20 years.

State Committee Releases Radiation Data

AU2601182790 Sofia BTA in English 1703 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 26 (BTA)—The State Committee on Environment Protection fills in the information vacuum about the state of the environment.

At a press conference today the data was announced about the state of the country's background radiation from January 1 till 26 this year and about the last three months of 1989. The measurements of the 7 laboratories, situated in different regions, indicate that as from the beginning of the year till now it had been from 0.12 to 0.18 microsiverts per hour, while for the periods 1987, 1988 and 1989 it had changed from 0.09 to 0.35 microsiverts [as received] per hour. These indices are within the limits of the permissible background radiation for Bulgaria's territory. The tests at the 28 points of the 3-30 km area [figure as received] of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Station are also within the limits. As from today the state of the background radiation will be announced weekly by the mass media.

It was also said that today's information sets the beginning of briefing the public on a regular basis about the state of other elements of the environment. Until the final putting into implementation of the United National Information System for Environment Protection the committee will periodically provide data.

Former Secret Telephone Exchange Noted

AU2801191390 Sofia BTA in English 1752 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 28 (BTA)—Today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO reveals details about the government direct dialling telephone exchange which until recently was shrouded in secrecy.

A similar independent exchange existed even before September 9, 1944. It connected the royal palace with the Vranya Palace and had 30 lines, on the basis of which the government exchange was established in 1947.

The network grew gradually. In 1948 it already had 100 subscriber lines, in 1953 there were 400, 1,600 in 1970 and a capacity of 2,000 after its latest extension. At present a total of 1,535 lines are connected to the exchange, including 122 to private homes.

The exchange is a closed hot-line telephone system accessible to state and economic officials, the leaders of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), the BCP [Bulgarian Communsit Party] and the public and political organizations.

The overall status of the government telehone exchange is to be reviewed at the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Mladenov Meets USSR Deputy Foreign Minister

AU0702170290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] On 7 February, State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov received Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and discussed with him issues of Bulgarian-USSR cooperation at international talks and forums.

Further on Meeting

AU0702204690 Sofia BTA in English 1811 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 7 (BTA)—Mr. Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, today received Mr. Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR. They discussed some problems of Bulgaro-Soviet interaction at international forums and negotiations.

Mr. Petrovskiy is visiting Bulgaria in connection with the meeting of the representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the allied countries. He was received by Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs.

At the consultations held by Mr. Stefan Staykov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Mr. Vladimir Petrovskiy the two sides discussed the system of international negotiations, the international ecological cooperation on a world scale and in Europe and the advancement of the initiatives of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria at the United Nations. The shared view was expressed that there are great possibilities for close bilateral interaction for the renewal of the world organization and its consolidation on the basis of nonconfrontation.

Mladenov Receives Departing CSSR Envoy

AU0702170490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] On 7 February, Petur Mladenov, State Council chairman, received Vaclav Janousek, Czechoslovak ambassador to Bulgaria, on his final departure from the country. The meeting was attended by Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs.

Conditions for Citizens Working Abroad Criticized

AU0302182490 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No. 5, 31 Jan 90 pp 4,5

[Borislav Nikolov article: "It Is Like This in Theory, But in Practice...."]

[Excerpts] Thousands of Bulgarian specialists (for more than 20 years now) go abroad to earn their living under conditions determined by the state. Who goes? How do

they work? How much do they earn? How do they live? These are questions on which the official statistics shyly pass over in silence, while in the ministries concerned the curtain of official secrecy falls to ward off such questions, so that we reach the situation of talking about facts without figures. Figures are an indicator of quantity, and are only indirectly connected with indicators of quality. The dimensions of this indicator are often banal and workaday. The meeting between Bulgarian and Swiss engineers in a certain field that I attended in Algiers some time ago, led by curiosity to see a living Swiss foreign worker, indeed seemed banal. [passage omitted]

The Swiss, since he had signed no agreement regarding his contacts with foreigners, was able to talk freely, as a result of which it became clear that his basic pay was 2,000 dinars higher than that received by the Bulgarian specialists and, what was more interesting, he received the whole amount himself, just for himself. [passage omitted]

What is more, the Swiss received his full salary, and the percentage retained by the company that sent him to the job was a symbolic amount. In contrast, the Bulgarian receives a symbolic proportion of 15-20 percent of the basic salary that the host state pays for his services.

Bulgarian citizens may be sent to work abroad under an order approved by the Council of Ministers in 1975, which was amended and supplemented seven times in the period up to 1983. Under this order, the position is as follows:

Volunteer candidates conclude a labor contract with the so-called "dispatching organizations"—Tekhnoimpeks, Tekhnoeksport, Medeksim, Agrokompleks, and a number of others. The contract should define "the country, type and period of employment, amount of salary, and other rights and obligations" (Article 4). The workers and specialists are obliged to conscientiously fulfill the tasks assigned to them and observe the standards of conduct prescribed for employees in the relevant countries. Persons who, by their conduct, damage the prestige of Bulgaria, are liable to be recalled to the People's Republic of Bulgaria (Article 15, Paragraph 1).

The remuneration for the above conscientious labor is made according to a system established by the Council of Ministers, the Labor and Wages Committee, the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, and other interested departments in which the labor remuneration is a percentage of the basic salary. A wife or husband accompanying a volunteer worker can also work, in which case he or she is entitled to receive a maximum of 70 percent of his or her salary. The dispatching organization provides an apartment, as it is stated, within a limit determined by the organization concerned. A further point is that if one member of the family does not work, then within three months of the latter's arrival the working member begins to pay rent to the dispatching organization, and in convertible currency. [passage omitted]

In short, the dispatching organizations do everything to limit the income of the specialist and to increase their profits. In this sense, and probably in order not to damage our country's prestige, the specialist is forbidden to work privately or, according to the new terminology, to engage in individual labor, or to establish unofficial contacts with foreigners. [passage omitted]

The Bulgarian dispatching organizations are immensely greedy. Their deduction from the basic salary is already no deduction, but something which is described by another word.

Any arguments that all this is done with the specialist's consent, that 10 people are waiting for every vacancy, and so on, only serve to confirm the asocial nature of these enterprises' activities. There is no other way to describe working conditions under which money is taken away from a man without giving him the equivalent in value to what he has earned and what he needs for a normal human life in the particular country, where he often stays for years on end. [passage omitted]

In the meantime, the price of the Bulgarian specialist in the Third World is falling. It is falling because of his living conditions there, which are inappropriate to his status as a specialist. He saves his money for a Lada, for a European trip, and remains a pauper in the foreign country, where the amount of respect for a person is often determined by the amount of his salary. This respect is also of importance in the commercial dealings on hiring labor. One can't help it; in many Third World countries a man's living standard is considered to indicate how good a specialist he is. Today very little remains from the respect originally shown for Bulgarians. [passage omitted]

Gen. Slimak Meets With U.S. Gen. Powell

AU0702170090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Feb 90 p 7

[Unattributed report from the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] CSSR and U.S. chiefs of general staff, General Anton Slimak and General Colin Powell, met for the first time on the occasion of a seminar on military doctrines held within the framework of the CSCE, which ended its work on Monday [5 February] in Vienna. Details about the meeting of the two generals were not released.

Further on Visit of Secretary of State Baker

Discusses Arms Issues With Dienstbier

LD0702133890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 7 feb 90

[Text] Today in Cernin Palace in Prague, Jiri Dienstbier and James Baker, ministers of foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia and United States, respectively, exchanged views on the future of military blocs in the world and of further development of the pan-European process, particularly in the military and political sphere.

Also on the agenda were questions related to the negotiations of the Czechoslovak-Soviet commission on Soviet troop withdrawal from Czechoslovakia.

In the course of evaluation of Czechoslovak-U.S. relations, Ministers Jiri Dienstbier and James Baker noted that favorable conditions for developing relations on a qualitatively new basis have been created.

Dienstbier, Baker Hold Talks

LD0702182490 Prague CTK in English 1406 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 7 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker exchanged views here today on the future of military blocs in the world and on further development of the all-European process, in the military and political spheres in particular.

Under discussion were also topics concerning the negotiations of the Czechoslovak-Soviet commission on withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia. Evaluating Czechoslovak-U.S. relations they stated that good prerequisites have been created for their promotion on a qualitatively new basis.

During their talks here today, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker briefed Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier of U.S. readiness to offer experience in shaping and developing a private sector in Czechoslovakia. He spoke about the U.S. Administration's measures leading to the resumption of the validity of the most-favoured-nation clause for Czechoslovakia, providing administration's guarantees for commercial credits and loans, and about changes in the control of exports of sophisticated technology. First negotiations on these issues will take place during the visit of a Czechoslovak Government delegation to the United States in March.

Jiri Dienstbier stressed Czechoslovakia's interest in the assistance of U.S. teachers and university students in teaching English at schools and universities in Czechoslovakia and in various forms of exchanges, particularly exchanges of youth delegations.

Referring to further development of the all-European process, they agreed that the mission of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty must be adapted to changes being carried out in international relations. Jiri Dienstbier emphasized that the present concept of the existing military-political blocs as well as political thinking do not keep up with dynamic processes inmilitary-political dynamic processes in the East European countries and in international relations.

Both ministers appreciated the proposal of U.S. President George Bush to reduce the maximum numbers of Soviet and U.S. troops deployed in other European countries of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO to 195,000 men on each side and said that it creates good prerequisites for the current Czechoslovak-Soviet talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia.

Dienstbier, U.S. Envoy View Baker's Talks

LD0702232190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The talks between Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker were described by Dienstbier and U.S. Ambassador Shirley Temple-Black in the following words:

[Begin Dienstbier recording] This was in effect the first meeting—the first visit at such a high political level—for many years, and we were naturally able to make a kind of a survey in these circumstances of what we should talk about, what we should develop. We are able to state that a new period is beginning in Czechoslovak-U.S. relations, which will now be free of the artificial problems of the past. [end recording]

[Begin Temple-Black recording in English, fading to Czech translation] The meetings conducted with your government were very constructive. We discussed a number of issues, and the speech by the U.S. secretary of state at Charles University especially made an impression on me. I was pleased above all that our consulate in Bratislava will be reopened and that, in addition, a cultural center will be opened there as well. We shall have another cultural center in Prague. As for the most-favored-nation status, the granting of it is now dependent only on the conclusion of a trade agreement between our two countries and then on the President's excercising his powers. [end recording]

[Announcer] In answer to a question put to him by Czechoslovak television, Jiri Dienstbier replied:

[Begin Dienstbier recording] We support the convening of the second Helsinki conference this year, and I think that the conference on open skies in Ottawa next week will discuss European institutions and institutions of the European process more than open skies. This is because the political development in the eastern half of Europe during the past months has far outstripped not only the existing institutions or those that have been created during the past 40 years, it has also frequently outstripped political thinking. In brief, what various political scientists and politicians have been thinking about has proven to be obsolete today and totally new concepts and the need to speed up all processes will have to be considered. I believe that the talks that are conducted today are conducted on the basis of mandates that were given during the previous period and there is, therefore, a need to reformulate and speed all this up. [end recording [passage omitted]

RUDE PRAVO on Visit

AU0702152590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Feb 90 p 1

[Jiri Roskot commentary: "Aprops J. Baker's Visit"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker arrives today in Prague. This is an extremely important event for Czechoslovak-U.S. relations. His visit is taking place at a time when the Central European region, and Europe as a whole, is under the microscope of international policy, including from the military point of view. Secretary Baker's arrival is still under the influence of President Bush's remarkable proposal to reduce the ceiling on the number of Soviet and U.S. Armed Forces in Central Europe to 195,000 on each side.

This is a proposal which immediately concerns us. It is necessary to welcome every endeavor that pursues a reduction in military concentration—and, consequently, confrontation—as long as, on the basis of generally accepted principles for the security of all participating countries, it assists in the transition to the sensible defense capability of NATO and the Warsaw Pact as well as of their individual member states.

The Soviet Union received Bush's proposal with interest, and it is logical to expect that Baker's talks in Moscow (where he is heading after his visit to Prague) will clarify the initiative's viability. Meanwhile, the issue is as follows: Washington assumes that Bush's proposal could be considered in parallel with the Vienna negotiations. His previous initiative from last May is being assessed there. At that time, Bush proposed reducing the number of U.S. and Soviet troops in Europe to 275,000. A further shift, then, has occurred in the American point of view.

In the meantime, particular military issues are already in a state of flux. This involves the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and Czechoslovakia. As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, a date before the end of 1990 is possible. Mikhail Moiseyev, USSR chief of general staff, said in Moscow on Saturday [3 February] that his country is willing to agree to the immediate and complete withdrawal of its units from the GDR if U.S., British, and French units are withdrawn from the FRG. This case involves direct and historically evolved ties.

Secretary Baker's visit to Prague and Moscow will be interesting, therefore, from the point of view of U.S. attitudes toward the revolutionary changes taking place in the process of European political and military detente.

Libava Explosion Led to Radiation Fears

LD0702190890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] A powerful explosion, whose external appearance upset the citizens from neighboring villages and towns, occurred last night in the Libava military area used by Soviet troops. Therefore, correspondent Frantizek Tvrz went to the Libava area.

[Begin Tvrz recording] I drove along the boundary of the military area where the explosion took place. The greatest worries about a nuclear accident were in Stare Oldruvky, Podlesi, Vitkov, and Budisov. The point is: Following the explosion, a mushroom-like yellow-orange cloud formed above the Soviet military area. Reddish-colored dust then dropped until nightfall on the adjacent area and vast parts of the training ground were ablaze. Apart from the citizens, specialists were also concerned. Thus, for example, public health officials, our chemical troops, and itinerate groups from the civil defense headquarters turned up without delay. The point is that right next door is a large drinking water reservoir that supplies the whole Ostrava district and a third of the region.

As early as this morning, the villages received a calming report that the analysis did not confirm any trace of radioactivity. The reddish ash is from an uncontrolled explosion of a large amount of ammunition, which the Soviet soldiers intended to gradually scrap from three pits. The protocol speaks of 500 artillery grenades, a considerable amount of artillery powder, and TNT, which originally should have been (?blown up) gradually. However, a detonation wave from one uncovered pit unexpectedly blew up the others at the same time. The pressure wave then smashed glass panels and windows in an area far away from this point. [end recording]

Spokesman Expresses Regret

LD0702211490 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Lubos Dobrovsky, the press representative of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, today expressed, on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation to the talks on the withdrawal of the Soviet troops temporarily stationed on the territory of our homeland, deep regret at the accident in the Libava military area, where a Soviet munitions

store exploded. He expressed hope that this tragic event will not have an adverse influence on the course and atmosphere of the Moscow talks, at which certain differences of opinion on the date of withdrawal of the Soviet units remain.

'Differences' With USSR Over Withdrawal Timing

LD0702222590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] In Moscow today certain differences of view on the date persist in the attitudes of the Czechoslovak and Soviet delegations which opened the second round of talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovak territory. The Czechoslovak delegation demands the withdrawal by the end of this year, and has submitted calculations according to which this date is realistic. The Soviet side, on the other hand, envisages that the withdrawal could be concluded only in 1991.

Two working groups were set up at the talks today. The first one is dealing with the possible formulation of the future agreement, while the second is composed of experts on military matters and transport. The results of the talks of these two groups will be discussed tomorrow at a joint session of both delegations.

As yet it cannot be said whether the talks will end tomorrow or whether they will continue.

Decin Residents Demand Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD0702202790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] The Czechoslovak Government's efforts to speed up the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovak territory have received the support of the citizens of Decin. Antonian Dohnal reports:

[Begin Dohnal recording] A meeting of local inhabitants in support of the demands put forward by the Czechoslovak Government and made by the people of Czechoslovakia for the Soviet troops to withdraw from Czechoslovak territory as soon as possible was held in Decin's Lenin Square late this afternoon without slogans, emotions, or banners.

Their 22-year stay has been especially burdensome for the town and its inhabitants. Not only are the troops devastating the castle where they are garrisoned, but the traffic generated in the town by military vehicles and by the soldiers themselves has been quite intolerable for some time now. This is why citizens at today's meeting have been demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops by 20 August in order to be able to celebrate the 21st in a truly free town, free of foreign presence. [end recording]

Slovak Soviet Friendship Group Organs Dissolved

AU0702223990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Feb 90 p 2

[Lubomir Olach report: "Friends of the European Home"]

[Excerpts] The Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society [ZCSSP] Slovak Central Committee held a session in Bratislava last Saturday [3 February]. [passage omitted]

The ZCSSP Action Program in Slovakia states, among other things, that it is necessary—in a spirit of humane and democratic ideals—to follow up on the progressive traditions of ties between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, the roots of which stretch back to the beginnings of our national revival. They agreed that at the society's nationwide congress, to be held at the beginning of April, they will propose that their organization change its name to the Society for Friendship With the Peoples of the Soviet Union. In view of the fact that in the elected organs Communist Party of Czechoslovakia members are in the majority, the plenum announced their dissolution and recommended that temporary coordinating councils with the authority of the former presidiums be elected in place of them. They entrusted Jozef Mravik with the leadership of the ZCSSP Slovak Central Committee Coordinating Council.

Certainty of German Unification Assessed

AU0702153890 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 3 Feb 90 p 5

[Milan Vodicka commentary: "Europa Uber Alles"]

[Text] It is already a fact that a specter does not have to be a specter at all—that it can be seen through almost at once. Just a week ago there were enough people against the unification of Germany in principle. To be more precise, enough people whose final say carries the most weight. Now—after seven days—if we look round Europe to see who is still raising objections, we will find that the answer is no one. Surprisingly, Gorbachev has uttered his hesitant "yes." Even Gysi, the former resolute and disapproving chief of East German Communists, all of a sudden cannot see any other possibility. Everything was crowned by Premier Modrow when, after his return from Moscow, he took out of his pocket a plan for the gradual creation of "a united homeland for all German people," his plan for a federation with Berlin as its capital.

This means that yesterday's question of whether to permit a single Germany or not has already been replaced by a problem substantially more complex—that is, when to have unification take place.

Development has accelerated so suddenly that the man who presides in Bonn and who is named Helmut Kohl is apparently its only brake. At first glance, he skeptically views Modrow's attractive itinerary for the journey

toward a united Germany—the reason being a proposition bearing the name neutrality. Modrow's idea of exchanging unification for neutrality strikingly recalls Stalin's similar proposal made in 1952, which was rejected soon afterward by the West and Bonn. Logically—because now, as then, it would be too risky for Europe to establish in its midst a country with no affiliations, a political and military vacuum which would attract attention from right and left, a vacuum which could threaten possible shocks. However, let us add just one thing to this: It is possible to compare similar discrepancies to arguments about the length of the step when the final aim has already been definitively determined. An agreement is only a matter of time. However, any onlooker wanting to place a bet that the German express train will go in a direction toward neutrality can already reckon in advance with the disappointment of losing. Therefore, Germans have only to take one obligation on themselves: not to abandon the European environment.

The pace at which the express train will travel is one of the main issues of German unification. If everyone stresses that the mob must not bring about unification, the fears of East Germans—who, by taking to the streets, have overthrown Honecker, Krenz, and the communists, and who would now set out at a moment's notice for unification when both parts of the country and the continent are not prepared for it—are made clear. Germany must not flee Europe. It is impossible to regard as a political reality the absurd theory that Europe will unite itself and that the German issue will automatically resolve itself (Genscher on this: Europe is the only chance for us). Therefore, the Germans must not hurry so much—this could damage not only them but also their surroundings. Europeans will react with feeling to every hint of acceleration of the German pace; moreover, in Germany itself such tendencies will certainly be perceptible. In their own interest, Germans cannot think about their fate alone, when many Europeans anxiously recollect the first line of the old German anthem, "Deutschland, Deutschland uber alles," Germans must convince them that they have changed the text to "a peaceful Europa uber alles"—that is, Europe above everything. Then indeed there will be no talk about a specter.

Foreign Minister Dienstbier Visits Sweden

LD0602122190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Sweden for a one-day visit today. He is to pay homage to the memory of Olaf Palme. He will also have brief talks with Riksdag Speaker Thage Petersen, and will meet the King Carl Gustav. In the afternoon he will meet Sten Andersson, Swedish minister of foreign affairs.

Some comments on the visit noted that Sweden's mixed economy and perfect social provisions could serve as an example for the newly rising Czechoslovak economic system.

Meets King, Holds News Conference

LD0602224890 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Czechoslovak Foreign Affairs Minister Jiri Dienstbier and his entourage arrived this morning in Stockholm for a one-day visit to the Kingdom of Sweden. He was welcomed at the airport by Sten Andersson, the head of Swedish diplomacy.

The first point on the Czechoslovak guest's agenda was the laying of a wreath at the grave of Olof Palme, murdered on 28 February 1986. Jiri Dienstbier then had a short meeting with Speaker of the Swedish Parliament Thage Peterson.

The protocol summit of today's visit to Stockholm was Jiri Dienstbier's reception by His Royal Highness Carl Gustaf XVI. The Swedish king expressed sympathy and support for the present democratic development in Czechoslovakia and expressed a lively and knowledgeable interest in events in our country. He welcomed the present activization of contacts between both countries manifested in the upcoming visit by Alexander Dubcek to Stockholm and the announced visit by President Vaclav Havel to Sweden.

After this Jiri Dienstbier summarized the results of his visit to an international press conference. In his words, the period of tension in relations caused by the 20 years of a policy of stagnation in Czechoslovakia is clearly ending. He emphasized the support of Olof Palme and many Swedish organizations for Charter 77 and other Czechoslovak civic initiatives in the past. He also said that talks about canceling the need for visas are going well. Very necessary talks are also beginning, at the end of which there should be an agreement on the protection of investment which should open up new possibilities in the development of joint business and in higher forms of economic cooperation.

Comments on Visit, Departs

LD0602230590 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2130 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Speaking at a news conference, Czechoslovakia's Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier described his visit as a short and working one. It means a new phase in contacts and an end to the period of tension in mutual relations. The minister thanked the Swedish Government, as well as all the people of this country, for support in the struggle of Czechs and Slovaks for democracy. Jiri Dienstbier announced that there were talks about the gradual abolishing of visas, about an exchange of students, training of managers, and cooperation in all areas. Minister Dienstbier stated that Swedish socialism is a useful model for the countries of Eastern Europe which are trying to rid themselves of the legacy of Stalinism.

In the evening Jiri Dienstbier ended his visit to Sweden and left by air for home.

General Agreement Signed With French Firm

AU0402220890 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Jan 90 p 2

[CTK report: "General Cooperation"]

[Text] Prague—Long-term cooperation between the Avia State Enterprise in Letnany and Renault Vehicules Industriels (RVI) of France has entered a new stage. Both partners, who have been acquainted with each other for many years, signed a mutually advantageous general agreement yesterday which will substantially expand the sale of Avia 21.1 and 31.1 light trucks on world markets. Ladislav Vodrazka, CSSR minister of metallurgy, engineering, and the electrotechnical industry, Andrej Barcak, CSSR minister of foreign trade, and representatives of both enterprises were present at the signing of this agreement and the subsequent news conference. Jacques Humann, French ambassador to the CSSR, was also present.

Komarek Meets Foreign Industrialists

AU0702144690 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 6 Feb p 1

[CTK report: "What Will Result From the Meeting of Experts"]

[Text] First Deputy Prime Minister of the CSSR V. Komarek held negotiations yesterday [5 February] with T. Bata and other outstanding world entrepreneurs. Among them were, for example, K. H. Hahn, president of the Volkswagen firm; K. Hubee, vice president of the Philips firm; H. Faulkner, general secretary of the International Union of Commerce [mezinarodni obchodni unie], and Ian McGregor of Great Britain, who was one of the organizers of the reconstruction of the British mining industry and metallurgy.

"We spoke about the possibilities of our enterprises' integration into international cooperative ventures. Our guests spoke of their experience: Mr. McGregor was in charge of modernizing Great Britain's metallurgy industry, which was modernized under his leadership in a way much like what we will do in the future. Mr. Hahn spoke about the modernization of the Spanish automobile industry and about experience in the Volkswagen company which could be applied in our country. Views on the organization of state industry and the privatization process, or private enterprise, were also cited."

Further, the first deputy prime minister noted that the discussion was very useful. The discussion had a consultative character and conclusions related to the common proceedings are to be brought up. In the afternoon, the foreign entrepreneurs negotiated in individual government departments. Today they will visit some enterprises and on 7 February they will meet V. Komarek again to formulate common conclusions, about which Mr. Bata will inform the president of the Republic, V. Havel.

T. Bata described the meeting as an information exchange. "It is an opportunity for the government officials. Mr. Komarek and his collaborators were given a lot of ideas."

Mr. Bata's wife, Mrs. Sonja Batova, met with the representatives of the Obuv Prague enterprise and then she went to visit some Prague shops. Another group of the foreign experts "scouted" the situation in our shoe industry.

Dalai Lama Concludes Private Visit, Departs

LD0602182590 Prague CTK in English 1318 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 6 (CTK)—Tibet's spiritual leader the Dalai Lama ended today his private visit to Czechoslovakia and left Prague.

During his visit, which started on February 2, he met with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek and other Czechoslovak representatives.

Spokesman on Outcome of Calfa Talks in Vienna

AU0602132090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Jan 90 pp 1, 15

[Dalibor Macha dispatch from Vienna: "Czechoslovak-Austrian Talks"]

[Excerpt] Vienna (from our special correspondent)—[passage omitted] Government spokesman Zbynek Fiala said that the talks [between CSSR Premier Calfa and Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky in Vienna on 30 January] concerned, besides cross-border contacts, the creation of special zones of recreation in the border area. Such zones could be established along the Dyje river, around the Lipno lake in southern Bohemia, and in the Sumava mountains. They would be made models of ecological standards. At the same time they would offer an opportunity for the participation of small Austrian entrepreneurs as well as for economic units [jednotky] from the Czechoslovak side. The opening of additional border crossing points is also being considered. Their total number should be between 15 and 18, with some restricted to pedestrians to prevent mutual destruction of each other's nature.

The Czechoslovak delegation came to Austria with ideas such as the introduction of short-term work assignments for students during the school recess and work-study programs to improve language training. Furthermore, Czechoslovakia offered its part in the celebrations of the 200th anniversary of the birth of W. A. Mozart [in 1991]. It is also planned to have a representation of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Interior in Austria; the Austrian side would be offered the same opportunity in Prague. This would be the first such step in relations with a nonsocialist country, Z. Fiala said. [passage omitted]

Dubcek, Anders Bjoerck Discuss Council of Europe

LD0702210690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Opportunities for involving Czechoslovakia and its parliament in the activity of the Strasbourg-based Council of Europe, which affiliates 23 European parliamentary democracies, were discussed in Prague today by Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek and the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly President Anders Bjoerck. He said that cooperation with the Council of Europe would contribute to Czechoslovakia's return among the countries of the European Community.

The guest explained the principles of the work of the council, which is now trying to jointly build a bridge between East, Central, and West Europe, and stated that becoming a member of the council is a rather complicated and complex matter. Among the main principles its member states have to observe are full respect for human rights, free and democratic elections, and a pluralist political system.

RUDE PRAVO Chief Editor Answers Critics

AU0702221190

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 6 February on page 3 carries a 2,000-word article by Zdenek Porybny, the paper's chief editor, entitled "What Kind of a Paper Will RUDE PRAVO Be?" In the article, Porybny responds to critical opinions about RUDE PRAVO expressed in letters which it receives from members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ].

Porybny first responds to those readers who would like RUDE PRAVO to "play the role of some sort of an internal party bulletin, serving the needs of primary and street organizations." As Porybny explains, this demand is being raised especially after the abolition of ZIVOT STRANY. Porybny attributes this demand to a "misunderstanding" on the part of these readers, to their failure to understand that the renewed CPCZ needs a paper "whose definition is wider than V.I. Lenin's 80-year-old demand for party press as the collective agitator, propagandist, and organizer of party work." He argues that by complying with this demand RUDE PRAVO would risk losing its readers among nonparty members, which would be "an inexcusable mistake because, if the party wants to be an influential political force, successful in the elections, it must make its positions known to the broad public and must have behind it an influential—that is, widely read—newspaper."

Another "frequent objection addressed to RUDE PRAVO by its readers" reportedly concerns the criticism that "RUDE PRAVO has lost its former revolutionary, combative, and offensive thrust." Responding to this charge, Porybny says that the CPCZ implements a "responsible policy based on the real correlation of forces in society and, above all, on the fundamental orientation toward a democratic path to socialism, free elections, and respect for the will of the majority." In his opinion, heeding the "reckless though often well-intended calls for 'greater revolutionary thrust,' might jeopardize the future of the Communist Party as a credible and influential political force and the future of its members as a meaningful part of society." Porybny points out that the "most revolutionary" statements now come from people who are associated with the policy of the Jakes-Bilak leadership and who have done the greatest damage to the CPCZ's authority. In this connection he refers to calls for "adherence to principles" and against "appeasement" made recently by Pavel Pilny, former party leader in Brno, and Jan Risko, former director of Czechoslovak Radio. He accuses them of using strong words to compensate for their "lack of a sense of reality and absolute absence of common sense" and argues that such calls have nothing in common with "revolutionary spirit," but are a "political gamble, behind which one can sense fundamentalist disagreement with the CPCZ's search for its new identity."

In the remaining part of the article, Porybny sets out his views about what RUDE PRAVO should look like. He says that the party paper wants to provide a platform for discussion on "who we are, who we want to be, and why" and that it does not want, and will not, "provide any ready conclusions and 'clear standpoints' in advance, even though many readers demand this." In conclusion he emphasizes that "the CPCZ and its newspaper can only have a future with truth, democracy, freedom, and social justice, with the people of this country."

Interviews Held With New Czech Premier

Radio Interview

LD0702100190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Excerpts] As we have already reported, Petr Pithart was appointed the new Czech premier today. [passage omitted] Our editor Vaclav Klement asked Petr Pithart for a short interview:

[Klement] What ideas do you have as you take on the difficult post of head of the Czech Government?

[Pithart] So far I do not have any fixed ideas. I expect to talk to the government as a whole and to all the ministers on a one-to-one basis. I need to understand why the government has done so little governing; why, according to what I hear, the government's sessions have been more like monologues by the ministers; why the government has not become a businesslike collective which governs this Republic—so I will form my ideas in the next few days.

[Klement] Do you think it necessary to alter anything fundamental in the work of your government so that it fulfills its tasks more quickly?

[Pithart] Yes, but these are premature considerations on which I will confer in the coming hours and days with my deputy premiers and ministers, and it would not be responsible for me to talk about this at this stage.

[Klement] But it stems from what you said at the beginning, that first of all you want to learn how the government works?

[Pithart] The role of premier is, of course, considerably different. I will have to get used to a different style of work and the great responsibility.

[Klement] So far you have been the spokesman for Civic Forum's coordinating center. What will your relations with Civic forum be now? [Pithart] [passage omitted] I will continue to seek advice from Civic Forum in this new role. [passage omitted]

RUDE PRAVO Interview

AU0802095290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Feb 90 p 7

[Interview with Petr Pithart, "leading representative of the Coordinating Center of the Civic Forum," by Marie Koenigova and Dalibor Macha in Prague; date not given: "Forty Five Minutes of Dialogue"]

[Excerpts] [RUDE PRAVO] [In the law on political parties approved on 23 January] parliament has officially recognized the Civic Forum as a political movement, whose standing is equal to that of political parties. Does this mean that the Civic Forum is about to turn into a party, after all?

[Pithart] Look, throughout the world political parties are so diverse that often you will find they have hardly any features in common. Political parties in the United States, for example, have virtually nothing in common with European parties—in fact, they are spurred into action only before elections. They call themselves parties, even though they are more like movements. The use of the word "party" is thus a matter of convention and habit.

[RUDE PRAVO] This free interpretation of yours suggests that they do have something in common, after all.

[Pithart] The common feature is their behavior before elections. The Civic Forum has some common, and many divergent, features with Polish Solidarity which also participated in elections even though it has its origin in a trade union. You should forget about definitions and theoretical concepts for the moment. It goes without saying that before elections every social force behaves so that it holds its ground in them the best it can. It behaves—if you insist—as a political party. Right now this is also the case of the Civic Forum. At the same time, in order to qualify as a political party we are still short of many things.

[RUDE PRAVO] That is clear. However, according to CTK, CSSR First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky said in parliament that one does not reckon with political movements after the elections.

[Pithart] I do not know what the deputy premier had in mind. I assume, first, that the Civic Forum will not disappear but that, apparently, it will change in one way or another. And, second, I do not think that it will change into a political party because a party of people without party affiliation is a logical nonsense.

[RUDE PRAVO] In other words, you want to be something like a community of independents....

[Pithart] The people who support us are not doing it because they hesitate about which party to join. Rather, these are people who—for various reasons, all of which are weighty—do not want to join any party. [passage omitted] We have carried out a preliminary survey which showed that over 80 percent of our followers do not want us to become a political party. To tell the truth, we have not even considered this possibility. However, at this moment the elections force us to behave like a political party. [passage omitted]

[RUDE PRAVO] The Civic Forum has advanced the offer to candidates of the smaller parties to appear on its list of candidates for the elections. It is foreseen that voters will have only two so-called preferential votes, in other words votes allowing them to change the sequence of candidates on the list. However, the ballot papers will list the names of from 14 to 18 candidates. Are you not afraid that there will be excessive pressure on your list of candidates?

[Pithart] We are afraid, of course. The sequence in which candidates are entered on the list is likely to be extremely important because it is possible that only a small, or even negligible, part of the electorate will make use of the right to cast a preferential vote. It is certain that fixing the sequence will involve the most difficult negotiations. However, we do not force anyone to figure on our list of candidates; we merely advance the offer.

[RUDE PRAVO] To anyone?

[Pithart] Not to everyone. We, too, will be selective. Both sides must be interested in one another.

[RUDE PRAVO] How do you select candidates for various posts—from constitutional down to local bodies?

[Pithart] You would be surprised what a volume of recommendations we have. Civic Forum organizations in districts have been called on to make three proposals, which are then discussed with regional Civic Forum organizations. We are trying to find the best, but there are no rules for the selection process. If we had such rules, we would become a political party, which we do not want. I realize over and over again that we are tackling a virtually insoluble problem—how to act effectively and democratically while avoiding party practices. It might even be said that this is absolutely impossible. [passage omitted]

[RUDE PRAVO] What is your attitude toward Communists who are handing back their membership cards? Do you accept them, or are you more likely not to trust them?

[Pithart] I would put it as follows: The motives which people had for joining the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] were so diverse that, naturally, the motives for their leaving it, too, are diverse. I would not like to be the judge in these matters.

[RUDE PRAVO] The reason we are asking is that letters from our readers call attention to specific cases when these people wanted to cooperate with the Civic Forum but were shown the door.

[Pithart] Let us beware of all generally valid recipes on how to proceed in such cases. The Civic Forum has been endorsing a number of Communists, including candidates for state posts. Some of them have subsequently left the party. This had no direct connection with our support but this was the solution of their personal situation. Some of them did not tell us anything about it, others came to tell us about it in advance.

[RUDE PRAVO] How do you assess, from this viewpoint, the moves of our government officials—Deputy Premiers Komarek and Dlouhy and Premier Calfa?

[Pithart] They probably to the category of people who joined the CPCZ because they wanted to keep and perhaps imnprove their professional positions. It does not necessarily mean that they were elbowing their way in. They may have deserved to occupy leading positions. I am convinced that any sweeping judgments about Communists are out of place. Let us evaluate, above all, people's civic, professional, and moral attitudes.

[RUDE PRAVO] Let us look forward a bit. What is your notion of cooperation with political parties after the elections?

[Pithart] No one knows how interested people will be in membership in political parties. It could very well happen that people will be voting for parties but will not be joining them.

[RUDE PRAVO] You are probably thinking of the newly sprung up larger and smaller parties.

[Pithart] No. Not even the established parties are absolutely certain any more that they will be able to surmount the barriers the electoral system will set before them. The number of people voting for your party, the CPCZ, could also turn out to be a surprise. It is hard to predict. Attitudes are constantly changing according to how the situation is changing. After all, no one had any idea of what 17 November would be a beginning.

[RUDE PRAVO] Really, did you not have a goal?

[Pithart] We had no idea that we would find ourselves in the role of participants in negotiations on the reconstruction of governments, that we would be asked about names of ministers.

[RUDE PRAVO] In other words, you were caught unprepared.

[Pithart] One could put it that way. But very soon we tried, and continue to try, to respond adequately. There are enough of us to accomplish this.

[RUDE PRAVO] Tell us something about your personal feelings concerning the roundtable talks. If one calls for democracy, then it is necessary to concede that this cannot be a permanent solution.

[Pithart] My feelings concerning the roundtable talks are mixed. They are mixed, above all, because, for instance, the Slovak Freedom Party is represented there, about which ill-wishers say—and I do not doubt that they exaggerate—that it has more Tatra 613 limousines than members. Other parties, in turn, have been left "behind the door"—the renewed Social Democratic Party, for instance, which will undoubtedly be one of the stronger parties.

[RUDE PRAVO] Has anyone ever taken exception to the talks' not being representative?

[Pithart] So far, this has not been subject of our discussions. But even now the composition of participants is problematic. Now as other parties [besides those existing prior to 17 November] operate legally there is still no formula on how the roundtables ought to be filled. Should over 40 parties (there are supposed to be as many as 86 parties by now) take their seats at the roundtable, it will stop being a roundtable and be nothing but a quarrel. I am trying to explain to those who are behind the doors that these talks are—or have been until now—a certain instrument that has proved itself. As soon as it stops proving itself, we will start looking for another one. After all, the roundtable is an improvisation born one December afternoon. [passage omitted]

[RUDE PRAVO] Allow us to put to you some selections from our readers' questions. Do you have any foreign advisers?

[Pithart] There are many who want to give us advice. Nevertheless, so far we have always had to cope with all problems on our own.

[RUDE PRAVO] Just so?

[Pithart] It is almost incredible how the reform, revolutionary, or renewal movements in individual states of eastern or central Europe differ from each other. To get to know our conditions we need time. We have not had this time so far.

[RUDE PRAVO] But some people may believe that you have entire groups of foreign experts working for you....

[Pithart] Some groups of experts have really been here, coming at their own expense. However, before they managed to orient themselves we had to make the decisions.

[RUDE PRAVO] Who is financing your activity?

[Pithart] The first basis was a donation from the Charter 77 Foundation, a fact which we have already published. Many contributions and donations from the people followed suit. At the moment our operation is ensured for a couple of months.... [passage omitted]

[RUDE PRAVO] You have mentioned the Charter group. What, in fact, is the position of Charter 77 within the Civic Forum today?

[Pithart] No one in the Civic Forum represents anyone, which also applies to Charter 77. It exists outside us. Long ago people started to prevail here who come from outside the environment of dissident structures.

[RUDE PRAVO] Our feeling was, however, that you had grown out of the Charter....

[Pithart] We have really taken over something—that special atmosphere of political tolerance that took shape within the Charter and which foreigners often find incredible.

[RUDE PRAVO] What do you mean by this?

[Pithart] The ability to get along with people of different and most varied political orientations. This ability helped all of us who went through this experience [of dissident life] immensely in the formation of the Civic Forum. The fact that to this day we have not started to quarrel or to fall out with one another in the Coordinating Center of the Civic Forum is undoubtedly attributable also to this special political culture of the dissident movement. In other respects we are trying, of course, to get rid of a number of our dissident habits.

[RUDE PRAVO] Thank you for the interview.

Pithart Biography

LD0602195390 Prague CTK in English 1511 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 6 (CTK)— The Presidium of the Czech National Council appointed Petr Pithart new Czech premier at its session here today.

Petr Pithart was born on January 2, 1941 in Kladno, near Prague. After graduating from the Faculty of Law at Charles University, he worked at the department of theory of state and law of the faculty. In 1970, he had to leave the faculty and worked as a pumper. After signing the Charter 77, he worked as a gardener. In the last few months, he was speaker of the coordinating centre of the Civic Forum.

Czech Deputy Premier on Nationality Issue

AU0602132690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Jan 90 p 3

["is"-signed report: "Questions That Are Still Painful; Ethnic Minorities Living in the Czech Socialist Republic"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent) — An organization of Romanies has sprung up and the ethnic minorities living in the Czech Socialist Republic, too, have been given a new boost. This is one fact. The other fact is that, because of shortage of state funds, a question mark is hanging over the future of the press organs of the Polish and German ethnic minorities. The Czech Socialist Republic National Front is simply short of funds. Voices are to be heard to the effect that this is a consequence of the flawed policy on nationalities enacted thus far.

Antonin Baudys, member of the Czechoslovak People's Party, deputy premier of the Czech Socialist Republic responsible, apart from other things, for questions of the ethnic minorities, holds the following view: "We are among the East European states with perhaps the cleanest record in this regard."

There is no doubt that there is something to build on in this direction, that the good things must be carried on and the bad things gotten rid of and that unanswered questions need to be answered—the question, for example, of whether it is correct to continue to regard Romanies as merely an ethnic group. Are they not a nationality? The emerging organization of Romanies has let it be clearly known to the government that it exists and needs help. A. Baudys: "So far, I do not have in my hands any official material from them."

But not only Romanies need help. The 70,000 Poles, for example, need their Polish newspaper, which is in financial trouble. "We intend to continue to support ethnic minorities and realize that it is necessary to appropriate certain subsidies—for their press, for example," the deputy premier agrees.

Whether we admit it to ourselves or not, similar problems and many other difficulties affect not only ethnic minorities but also the workers who come here from Poland, Vietnam, and other countries. The basic problem for them is whether they will continue to have jobs in Czechoslovakia.

"Considering the urgently needed restructuring of our economy, accompanied by not-so-popular social measures, it is clear how the problem of these workers will be tackled. But it cannot be said harshly."

Let us therefore say it "softly"—a number of painful steps are in store for us.

Czech Parliament Approves Makeup, Elects Officials

LD0702000690 Prague CTK in English 1517 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 6 (CTK)—The Czech National Council approved its reconstruction at its 20th session here today.

Seventeen deputies are members of the People's Party, 17 are members of the Socialist Party, 82 are Communists, 33 are Independent and 50 deputies represent the Civic Forum. One deputy mandate remained vacant.

In the past weeks 64 deputies (mostly Communists) have resigned or have been recalled. In the new deputy corps none of the major political parties is in majority.

The Czech National Council with 200 seats is the supreme body of state power in the Czech Socialist Republic just as the Slovak National Council is in Slovakia. It was formed by a constitutional law on the federation in 1968.

Jaroslav Safarik was today elected chairman of the Czech National Council and Michal Kraus, Jaroslava Moserova and Miroslav Slouf were elected deputy chairmen of the Czech parliament.

Socialist Party Expanding to Slovakia

AU0702075890 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Jan 90 p 2

[CTK report: "New Political Parties"]

[Text] The activities of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] are becoming a qualitatively new factor in Slovakia's political life. The party is considering expanding its political operations throughout the territory of the entire republic. The preparatory committee of the CSS' Bratislava city organization hereby announces to its members and future brothers and sisters that the founding conference of the territorial [oblastni] CSS organization will be held in the small salon of the Bajkal restaurant on Bajkalska Street on 30 January 1990. It will begin at 1600. We have been advised that Mr Jan Skoda, brother chairman of the CSS, will be attending the conference. His presence is meant to emphasize the party leadership's interest in showing support for the CSS' first steps in Slovakia. He will also to work out the specific assistance to be granted in terms of methodology and materials during the CSS' upcoming political activities. In order to be through we provide here the telephone numbers for contacting the preparatory committee: Eng Vladimir Kovalcik, 674 69; and Eduard Rosa, 324 310.

Slovak Government Debates Dam, Fills Posts

AU0702102090 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 29 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Starting Talks Expeditiously"]

[Excerpts] The Presidium of the Slovak Socialist Republic Government met in Bratislava on Saturday [27 January]. [passage omitted]

It considered some aspects of the report on the Czechoslovak side's further course of action in building the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of hydropower projects. It stressed the need for the expeditious start of preliminary talks with the Hungarian side on the proposal to amend the 1977 Agreement Between the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic on the Construction and Operation of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros System of Hydropower Projects because delays in construction and in putting the Gabcikovo section into operation are causing growing damage and ecological, economic, and, ultimately, also social, moral, and political losses.

The Presidium recalled Jan Tosecky from the post of first deputy director of Czechoslovak Radio [in Slovakia] and appointed Ernest Weidler (without political affiliation) to the post. It recalled Engineer Alexander Milly from the post of deputy director of Czechoslovak Radio in Slovakia and appointed Michal Berka, LLD (without political affiliation), to the post.

Slovak Parties Discuss Recalling SNF Deputies

LD0602223590 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1800 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Representatives of political forces met today in the Bratislava Central Committee of the Slovak National Front [SNF] to discuss proposals on recalling Slovak National Council deputies under the law adopted by the Federal Assembly. Representatives of the Democratic Party, the Communist Party of Slovakia, the Freedom Party, the Christian-Democratic Movement, the Party of Democratic Socialism, the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia, and the Public Against Violence attended the roundtable meeting.

Slovak Roundtable on 'Depolitization'

AU0602233090 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Jan 90 p 1

[Martin Krno report: "Two Roundtables on National Front Premises; Depolitization of Security Forces, Courts, and Prosecuting Bodies"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava (from our correspondent)—Two roundtables were held at the Slovak Socialist Republic

National Front headquarters yesterday. The first, which was chaired by Anton Tazky, chairman of the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, was attended by representatives of the Democratic Party, the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL], the Freedom Party, the Christian Democratic Movement, and the Public Against Violence [PAV] movement. Olga Marhulikova, secretary of the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, briefed the participants on the law on recalling deputies and electing new ones and outlined, in the spirit of the newly adopted law, the PAV's specific proposals for recalling deputies to the Slovak National Council and the Federal Assembly who are members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ].

The roundtable was also attended by representatives of the other political parties and social organizations associated in the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front. Attention centered on the depolitization of the security forces, courts, and prosecuting bodies. [passage omitted] CPSL primary organizations at these workplaces have already been abolished and some party members have returned their membership cards. However, most of them are waiting for political and state bodies to make a decision. Vladimir Meciar, minister of the interior and the environment of the Slovak Socialist Republic, and Ladislav Kosta, minister of justice of the Slovak Socialist Republic, stressed that membership in any political party is incompatible with the principles of independence and objectivity. The issue now is to decide whether only people without political affiliation should work in the security apparatus, the courts, and the prosecuting bodies or whether their party membership should be suspended for the duration of the execution of their duties.

Tibor Boehm, prosecutor general of the Slovak Socialist Republic, and Karol Plank, chairman of the Slovak Socialist Republic Supreme Court, consider the suspension of party membership to be a halfhearted solution and unequivocally endorsed the first option. [passage omitted] The representative of the Democratic Party demanded that the depolitization should be widened to include the Army. Representatives of several social organizations expressed the conviction that membership in political parties should only be suspended.

Peter Weiss, who spoke on behalf of the CPSL, admitted deformations by the Communist Party's former leadership in its cadre policy in state bodies. He endorsed the standpoint of the minister of interior that depolitization should not be accompanied by wrongdoings, cases of personal injustice, and the establishment of another monopoly of power. He stressed that it should be up to the employees of the security forces, courts, and prosecuting bodies to decide whether they will leave the party or whether they will instead have their membership suspended. Faced with the repeated demands of the prosecutor general that the CPCZ call on discredited people working in the state apparatus to step down, the CPSL representative called attention to the fact that the renewing party has renounced the command methods of democratic centralism and does not demand rigorous party discipline. [passage omitted]

Summing up the roundtable talks, Minister Kosta stated that National Front member organizations expressed their agreement with the depolitization of the security forces, courts, and prosecuting bodies.

E. Slovakia CP Newspaper Renamed VYCHOD

AU0702151990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Feb 90 p 2

["mc"-signed report: "Regional Daily VYCHOD"]

[Text] Kosice— The first issue of VYCHOD [east], daily of the national committees of East Slovakia, was published yesterday. It is not a completely new newspaper but the new name of the original regional daily—VYCHODOSLOVENSKE NOVINY—which until last year had been the organ of the East Slovak Communist Party of Slovakia Regional Committee. Addressing the newspaper's readers, Dusan Klinger, Vychod's new chief editor, wrote on this subject: "One can hardly speak about continuity with the previous regional daily, even though we are taking over not only its production-technological service but also its entire editorial staff, except for a few cadre changes. This is not only an expression of trust but, at the same time, it demonstrates that the present revolution is guided by the principles of democracy and humanism, in contrast to the fifties and seventies when the arrogant rule of undemocratic winners liquidated the intelligentsia, and above all journalists, within its ranks."

No Information on Slovak Secret Apartments

AU0702214090 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Feb 90 p 1

["(PA)"-signed report: "What About the Secret Apartments in Slovakia?"]

[Text] We turned to several institutions in Bratislava with this question after the statement made by Richard Sacher, CSSR interior minister, on Thursday [1 February]. Among other things, it was said in the statement that the handing over of secret apartments to national committees is under way in Prague. This involves 272 apartments in all municipal districts. Yesterday at the editorial office we received several readers' reactions. They asked what the situation is in Slovakia, in Bratislava in particular. Despite our efforts, we were unable to obtain more detailed information on the number of such apartments. After telephone conversations with staff at the Slovak Socialist Republic Ministry of the Interior and Living Environment and the National Security Corps Administration in the capital, as well as with the State Security Regional Administration, we did not obtain any details about the number of such apartments, the method of handing them over, or their allocation to citizens. At the State Security's Regional Administration

we found out that the first barrier to providing any kind of information is an official obligation to remain silent about specific matters, an obligation which the minister has so far not removed. We believe that we will satisfy our readers as soon as possible with a more specific response.

Slovak Greens Hold Congress, Elect Chairman

AU0702101490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Jan 90 p 2

[Milan Berta report: "Respect for All That Lives; Constituent Congress of the Green Party in Slovakia"]

[Excerpts] Banska Bystrica (from our correspondent)—We have been and are exploiting nature—this has repeatedly been said, perhaps too often, in the discussion statements and conversations among delegates to the constituent congress of the Green Party in Slovakia [Strana zelenych na Slovensku] held at Banska Bystrica on Saturday [27 January].

The course of the congress—attended by 163 delegates and some 50 guests, including delegations of Green parties from France, Austria, and Bohemia—confirmed once again that nothing new is born without pain. The very fact that no delegates came from the Vranov nad Toplou and Velky Krtis districts, for example, and that many other districts were represented by only one or two delegates, is characteristic. There are several currents in this movement and the views of many delegates differed and were even contradictory. [passage omitted]

In the end, the delegates did, after all, approve the party's statutes and program by a majority of votes. Doctor Juraj Mesik from Banska Bystrica was elected chairman of the Green Party in Slovakia. The party's Coordinating Committee has 51 members. The party has 2,124 registered members at present, 44 of whom will represent it at the national congress of the Green Party in Brno on 17 February.

The party will soon apply for registration. It clearly follows from its statutes and program that it will be a political party and that it will not join the National Front. It will become involved in the election campaign and wants to have its representatives at the political negotiations at the roundtable as well as access to the media. [passage omitted]

Radioactive Leak Admitted; Charges Denied

AU0702083190

[Editorial Report] Czechoslovak newspapers between 24 and 29 January continue to devote attention to the charges of the Austrian branch of Greenpeace regarding the alleged contamination of the environment with uranium waste from the uranium processing plant at Mydlovary, southern Bohemia, in the early sixties.

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 24 January on page 7 carries a 450-word Maria Ptackova article entitled "Questions Fired at Mape." In her article, the author first discusses the history and purpose of the Mydlovary plant. She says that the plant, located about 25 km from Ceske Budejovice, was built in the late fifties and early sixties and was given the codename Mape. Its "secret strategic mission was to process uranium ore into a chemical concentrate, which was then sent to the Soviet Union for further use." As Ptackova goes on to say, the production of the concentrate in Mydlovary will be phased out by 1994, in connection with the cutbacks in the Czechoslovak uranium industry, and replaced by an unspecified "alternative production program." In the remaining part of her article, the author interviews managers and Civic Forum representatives of the Mydlovary plant; in their statements they qualify as "distorted and incomplete" the Greenpeace reports about radioactive contamination in the Mydlovary area and assert that "a nuclear accident has never occurred here."

Ptackova's article is followed by a 350-word "jet"-signed undated interview with Jaroslav Ruzicka, who worked as water inspector at the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Water Economy in the sixties. Ruzicka challenges the Mydlovary managers' statements by noting that a "medium-size accident occurred about 2 years after the start of Mape's operations when technological water spilled over the sludge bed," flowed into the Vltava river and "caused a slight increase of radioactivity upstream from Orlik."

On 25 January, all Czechoslovak newspapers report extensively on a news conference organized by the Ministry of the Environment of the Czech Socialist Republic in Prague on 24 January, which confirmed Ruzicka's version. According to a 900-word MLADA FRONTA report on the news conference, published on pages 1 and 2, the accident referred to by Jaroslav Ruzicka occurred on 1 January 1965 when about 700 cubic meters of waste water leaked from the Mape plant, whose radioactivity amounted to 10 bequerel per liter. Given that the water was escaping for 24 hours and that the minimum flow of the Vltava river is six cubic meters per second, the MLADA FRONTA report points out, it can be expected that the radioactivity was eventually reduced to 0.01 bequerel per liter, which is less than the permitted norm for drinking water. RUDE PRAVO's 800-word report on the news conference, published on page 2, stresses that the leak did not have any negative impact on the health of the population or on the flora and fauna and that "there is no reason for hysteria." In this connection it takes issue with an article published in the Austrian daily KURIER, which claimed that a radioactivity level of 23,000 bequerel per kilogram of waste water had been ascertained in Mydlovary.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 26 January on page 1 publishes a 250-word statement issued by the employees of the Mydlovary plant on 25 January. The statement qualifies as "biased and discrediting" the "campaign that has been unleashed over the ecological harmfulness of the operation of the Mape plant" and states that the Greenpeace documents on which the campaign is based

"contain many false facts," such as claims about the subordination of Mape to the Federal Ministry of the Interior, the control of its facilities by the Soviet Army, or the radioactive contamination of the Mydlak lake. The statement refers to the accident of January 1965 as an "operational malfunction" and protests that it "cannot absolutely be compared with the Chernobyl accident as, in our opinion, it has had no negative impact on the state of health of the people." In conclusion of their statement, the Mape employees accuse Greenpeace of being "interested rather in political capital than in ecology itself."

On 29 January, finally, on its pages 1 and 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 500-word Vladimir Vacha report entitled "The Sensation Did Not Take Place." The article deals with radioactivity measurements conducted at Olesnik near Mydlovary, the site of the Mape plant's sludge pit, on 27 January. As Vacha points out, according to the Greenpeace report "following a catastrophic radioactive accident several years ago, the landscape around Olesnik shows only minimal signs of life." Vacha stresses that independent measurements conducted opposite the community's kindergarten, which is located near one of the sludge pits, and at the edge of the sludge pits themselves showed "values in the range of 0.1 microgray per hour, which is within the norm" and does not exceed natural radioactivity (natural radioactivity is said to be in the range of between 0.09 and 0.15 micrgray). Concluding his report, Vacha states that the measurements of 27 January "refuted the unverified Greenpeace slanders about a nuclear catastrophe" and deplores that Greenpeace activists failed to attend the measurements, even though they knew about them.

Committee Set Up for New Women's Party

AU0702082190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Jan 90 p 2

[CTK report: "New Political Parties"]

[Text] Bratislava—The preparatory committee of the party being established under the name "Public for Family—Women's Party" aims to create a political suprastructure for the mass movement of women. The committee's representative, Doctor of Medicine Viera Pospisilova, describes the party's program as follows: "Our mission is to establish the conditions in our state institutions and legislative bodies for the harmonious development of the family, and for ensuring equal rights for women. Any adult citizen of Slovakia may become a member of our party, regardless of sex, nationality, religious denomination, or education. We have no intention of acting antagonistically toward the Socialist Women's Union, the existing special-interest organization. On the contrary, we would welcome this organization's support for our initiative and its cooperation." More detailed information can be obtained from: Dr Viera Pospisilova, Stefanikova Street 4, 811 05 Bratislava; telephone 420 73.

Public Opinion on Role of Trade Unions

LD0102231690 Prague CTK in English 1311 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 1 (CTK)—Two-thirds of Czechoslovak citizens believe the trade unions could become equal partners of the government in considering demands of the working people, while one in every four people thinks these can be achieved only through demonstrations and strikes and one-fifth doubt that the trade unions could be an equal partner of the government.

In an opinion poll regarding trade unions, conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research on January 17-22, the respondents believed that in negotiations with the government the trade unions should give priority to pressing for the definition of minimum wages, anti-inflation measures, and wage taxes. Emphasis is put also on the length of working hours, especially of women, and of holidays. The majority of the respondents wanted the trade unions to use their influence in changes in pension insurance. On the other hand, not much importance is attached to negotiations about some laws which in the future will define the scope for trade union activities, i.e. the law on strikes, on assembly and association.

Only less than a half of the respondents (47 percent) gave a positive answer to the question of usefulness of being a trade union member. 31 per thought it would depend on the circumstances and one-tenth believed they would not need memebrship of the trade unions.

Police Chief Queried on Drug Addiction Problems

AU0802112490

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 6 February on page 3 carries a 1,300-word Jan Kastanek article entitled "From 'Cooking Gingerbread' to the Transit of Hard Drugs." The article is based on the author's undated interview with Major Kamil Klastersky, LLD, chief of the Antinarcotics Department of the Federal Criminal Bureau, and deals with the problem of drug addiction in Czechoslovakia.

Klastersky says that his department has "on record" the names of some 7,000 persons, most of them between 17 and 25 years of age. About 40 drug addicts are said to die every year, a figure which does not include drug-related suicides and narcotics abusers who die after several days of hospitalization for reasons of "breakdown of the organism." Most drug addicts in Czechoslovakia are said to be inhaling volatile substances (such as cleaning agents and gasoline) or to be injecting "gingerbread" (pernik), the drug users' name for a "hard drug equivalent" prepared from generally available codeine- and ephedrine-based drugs. Klastersky points out that a daily dose of "gingerbread" costs between 200 and 500 Czechoslovak korunas, as a result of which drug addiction is connected with male and female prostitution and various forms of crime.

Asked about the future of the drug problem, Klastersky voices the fear that, because of its geographic location, Czechoslovakia is likely to become a major transit route for hard drugs and, once the Czechoslovak koruna becomes convertible, also a market for them (as he mentions, "at present you will get any amount of prostitutes, hard currency, or weapons in the Prague underworld, but no heroin"). In this connection he complains that his department is severely understaffed (without saying how much staff it actually has, he notes that he would need "25 to 30 people in Prague alone") and short of the necessary technology. He also criticizes the fact that, because of shortage of capacity, an abuser who wants to stop using drugs must wait about 3 years for treatment.

Modrow Denies Receiving Currency Union Offer

LD0802112890 Hamburg DPA in German 1034 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Prime Minister Hans Modrow (Party of Democratic Socialism) has neither been officially informed of nor prepared for the latest proposal from Bonn of a currency union by those responsible. Modrow said today in an interview for Second German Television that "approaching one another" is very important to him. He has not seen any indication of this in the latest proposals and demands. "No concrete offer has been made to us from Bonn. We hear what is in the media."

Nor have the talks that took place previously, such as the meeting between the president of the GDR State Bank and the Bundesbank president on Tuesday, dealt with this subject matter. He considers it "unusual" that topics yet to be discussed should be made public in this way before talks and negotiations—Modrow is to meet Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn on 13 February. It is more customary "that there is reciprocal information, in order to have a joint degree of preparation for discussions." Modrow regretted that this did not happen in this case.

SPD on Monetary Union

LD0702212290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1908 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The shaping of a German-German monetary union on the basis of the Deutsche mark is one of the most urgent measures in the economic reform processes in the GDR. This task is one of the first that should be tackled. Frank Bogisch, member of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] Executive, and Professor Heinrich Seikert, member of the SPD economic group, stress this in a reaction to the statement by the SPD in the Federal Republic with regard to economic and monetary union.

The press statement by the two Social Democrats goes on to say:

The SPD in the GDR agrees with the ideas developed on this subject by the SPD in the Federal Republic, that the introduction of the Deutsche mark as the currency in the GDR is a decisive prerequisite for a social market economy and a successful economic upturn.

This also would be seen by the citizens of the GDR as a hopeful sign of a swift improvement in the economy and of new prosperity that would, at the same time, significantly stem the flow of resettlers to the FRG.

With their transfer to other forms of ownership—to a great extent—the productive assets in state ownership in the GDR (around 1.3 trillion marks), the accumulation of which over the past 40 years has been at the expense of citizens' incomes, offer a guarantee that currency losses for GDR citizens in the conversion to the Deutsche mark are avoidable to a very large extent, so that social hardship for individuals can be eased.

The introduction of the Deutsche mark into the GDR can lead to the desired economic successes only if it is linked to far-reaching reforms in the economy that have an ecologically oriented, social- market economy as their goal.

Included in this, above all, are:

—The opening up of the economy to foreign capital and modern technologies;

—The far-reaching transformation of state ownership of the means of production into other forms of ownership and the elimination of central state control over enterprises;

—Pay that does justice to performance within an autonomous system of bargaining, which is to be created;

—A banking system capable of performing;

—The reorientation of state finances toward guaranteeing social security, as well as toward a modern tax system that promotes industry.

The fashioning of a German-German monetary union requires responsible cooperation between the freely elected government that is to be formed in the GDR after 18 March 1990 and the Federal Government, so that social hardship and injustice on both sides are avoided to a very large extent when the balance sheets of enterprises, the population's savings, and prices and incomes (wages, salaries, pensions, grants, etc.) have to be changed to a Deutsche mark basis.

Every delay on the part of the Federal Government will greatly increase the flow of resettlers.

Further on Currency Union

LD0702115590 Hamburg DPA in German 1037 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA/VWD)—The GDR Social Democrats describe the fashioning of a German-German currency union based on the Deutsche mark [DM] as one of the "most urgent measures" of economic reform in their country. In order to lessen monetary losses by switching to the DM, the major portion of the "state ownership of means of production (worth gross around 1.3 billion marks)" in the GDR should be transferred to other forms of ownership, according to a statement from the East Social Democratic Party [SPD] Executive released today. In the final analysis, accruing these massive state assets in the past 40 years has taken place at the cost of employees' incomes, the GDR SPD says.

Introducing the DM can only lead to economic success if it is linked with fundamental reforms for an ecologically oriented social- market economy. The fashioning of a German-German currency union, the SPD says, requires

"responsible cooperation" from the new and freely elected government of the GDR—to be formed after 18 March 1990—with the federal government in order to avoid social hardship and injustice.

Communications Commission Set Up With FRG

AU0602134490 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 26 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Commission for Better Information Links"]

[Text] Yesterday [26 January], a joint government commission for the improvement of communications possibilities between the two German states constituted itself in Bonn.

Premier Modrow and Chancellor Kohl agreed to establish this body in Dresden last December in order to discuss and more rapidly solve basic questions of relations in the postal and telecommunications sector between the FRG and the GDR. FRG Posts Minister Christian Schwarz-Schilling and his GDR counterpart, Klaus Wolf, told the press that corresponding working groups started to work in various fields.

As was pointed out by Schwarz-Schilling, cooperation will focus on extending the telephone network in the GDR and improving the telephone service. He said that, apart from the sphere of the telephone service, the seven working groups would also deal with text and data services, mobile radio service, exchange of radio programs, questions concerning radio frequencies, the telecommunications transit path from and to Berlin, as well as the mail service.

NVA Structures Noted at Vienna Talks

AU0702111790 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 26 Jan 90 p 4

[ADN report: "NVA Structures Published in Vienna"]

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—Yesterday at the CSCE seminar on military doctrines in Vienna, Major General Hans-Werner Deim, who is responsible for combat readiness and operational training on the Main Staff of the National People's Army [NVA], presented previously unpublished details of the structure and the defense tasks of the NVA.

According to him, the two armies of the ground forces have the defensive order "to hold their own against the potential of an enemy who is two to three times stronger in numbers in areas near the border that are 120 to 150 km wide and to repel attacks by fire of any kind and by troops." This follows the "logic of response;" in this connection, "prevention and preemption are demonstrably" ruled out.

Concerning tanks, the defense capability in the event of a conflict is based on 69 tank battalions, of which 26 with a total of 806 tanks are integrated in the alert units. Gen. Deim itemized all 2,542 tanks that remained after the unilateral reduction of 600 NVA tanks. If the Vienna negotiations are successful, only 1,060 tanks will be left. At present, the Western Group of Soviet Forces has 5,800 tanks stationed in the GDR. Since this number is also being reduced, a total of 6,000 to 6,500 tanks are to remain on GDR territory by the end of 1990.

According to information about the other armed forces, personnel strength, and safeguards, Deim discussed equipment. In the GDR, handguns, ammunition, explosives, communications and pioneer technology, certain ships, and military supplies are produced. In 1989, 1 percent of industrial goods production came from this sector. The NVA gets most of its arms from imports, mainly from the USSR, the CSSR, and Poland. Two-thirds of its resources are used for imports. GDR industry does not grant any preferential treatment to the NVA; "the prices are a result of objective cost calculations."

According to the general, since 1 December 1989 "exact definitions" of the ready-alert regime "that additionally defuse the general situation" have been carried out in the NVA, in which one was "guided by the low probability of outside threats and the increasing reliability of early warning." The permanently available minimum amount of personnel has been reduced from 80 to 50 percent.

Military Exercises Reduced

AU0802120490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Feb 90 p 1

[ADN report: "NVA Intends To Reduce Number of Exercises"]

[Text] Vienna—The dimension and number of tactical exercises of the GDR National People's Army [NVA] will be further substantially reduced this year. That was announced by Major General Professor Rolf Lehmann, deputy chief of the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy, at the CSCE Seminar on Military Doctrines in Vienna on Wednesday [31 January].

The general added that the NVA was planning to hold one tactical exercise each of an Army division, an Air Force division, and a Navy flotilla in 1990. He said that the NVA's training was "oriented toward active defense against a numerically superior enemy and the repulsion of concentrated strikes of its air forces." This was based on the "principle of responsive actions," he said, adding that the NVA would not begin military actions.

Envoy Discusses Talks

LD0602184590 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1830 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Interview with Guenther Boehring, head of the GDR delegation at the Vienna CSCE military doctrine seminar, by correspondent Guenter Lueschner; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Leuschner] Mr. Ambassador, a three-week seminar with high-level military officers from the 35 CSCE states has ended in Vienna today. Could you give our listeners an idea on what that is all about?

[Boehring] From the very beginning of the Western alliance, NATO, and the Eastern alliance, the Warsaw Pact, both systems have been asserting that all their weapons and all of their military thinking were exclusively aligned to defense. This seminar's purpose was to actually test the military personnel of each participating state, all 35 states—let me include the neutral, nonaligned states—as it were, in order to prove credibly that this was the case.

[Leuschner] Apparently, all those participating are satisfied with the seminar's results. Does that imply that not only general political statements were made, but that there were also definite talks about what may have been inside the safes—that is, still secret classified matters.

[Boehring] Yes. First, one did not make any political statements at all. From the very beginning, there were only definite factual talks. As regards what you term secret classified matters lying in the safes, the Western participants were in fact perplexed over the Warsaw Pact state delegations' openness in their presentation of the structure of their forces and their defense budgets.

[Leuschner] Regarding its Army, the GDR is currently in a not-very-easy situation. Did that have an impact on our officers' appearances here in the Vienna Hofburg?

[Boehring] One did not perceive anything of it. On the contrary, those generals discussing the individual items of the agenda indeed received, let me use this term, best marks for the details they submitted and for the way they answered questions.

[Leuschner] That is, questions regarding training, operational missions, the National People's Army's weapons, and questions ranging up to armament budgets. Mr. ambassador, the last question now: Whatever applies to disarmament, now applies to the subject of unity, paths toward unity. Please give me your personal impression regarding the seminar on military doctrines—how do you see it in relation to what is probably the most-discussed topic in the GDR at the moment—unity?

[Boehring] Yes, I will gladly answer your question, Mr. Leuschner. In the light of the variety of bilateral talks that we had here in Vienna during the seminar with supreme-level and high-level NATO officers, particularly the United States, let me first state that I have gained the positive impression that the people in charge in that organization are aware of handling military power and sensitive to our delicate situation—which is a positive factor, I believe. For the rest, when you use the word unity in that context, then I would like to tell you very personally—and I tell it to the listeners in my country very personally—I do not wish to be a citizen of a united NATO Germany, and I do no want my grandchildren to serve with the Bundeswehr.

Modrow Confers With Mexican President

LD0302180390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1551 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Zurich (ADN)—The solution of the German question was today the main focus of a conversation in Zurich between GDR Premier Hans Modrow and Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Modrow stressed that the gradual unification of the GDR and FRG should not place any other state in a complicated situation; rather it should have a confidence-building effect. In his view, the GDR too will be able to contribute political and socioeconomic values to a future united Germany.

Mexican Foreign Minister Arrives for Visit

LD0502220490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2105 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In Berlin today, the foreign ministers of the GDR and Mexico, Oskar Fischer and Fernando Solana Morales, came out in favor of the further development of bilateral relations.

At a banquet given by the GDR foreign minister this evening in honor of his guest, Fischer stressed that the most important precondition for stability in Europe is to peacefully conclude the process of democratic renewal in the GDR without foreign interference. New opportunities are opening up that, however, also entail certain risks for future international events. Therefore, the government is doing all in its power to presserve the antifascist traditions of the people of the GDR. The minister came out in favor of making 1990 a year of considerable progress in disarmament.

Minister Solana replied that Mexico is following the changes in the GDR with great interest, since they affect not only Europe but the whole world. A breakdown of the mutual balance would also have repercussions on Latin America. Therefore, his country is interested in a more intensive political dialogue with the GDR. Remarkable agreement has developed between the two states, Minister Solana said. In spite of this, bilateral relations are still not at an optimum level. There are real future prospects, particularly in trade, which is at a level of $20 million at present.

Prior to this, the two foreign ministers had initial talks. The Mexican foreign minister arrive this afternoon for a two-day visit to the GDR capital. His program also includes meetings with Prime Minister Hans Modrow, acting State Council Chairman Manfred Gerlach, People's Chamber President Guenther Maleuda, and Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil.

Meets Modrow

LD0602095490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0912 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow received Mexican Foreign Minister Fernando Solana Morales in Berlin this morning for an exchange of views.

Solana's program today includes meetings with People's Chamber President Dr. Guenther Maleuda, acting State Council Chairman Professor Dr. Manfred Gerlach, and Foreign Trade Minister Dr. Gerhard Beil. [passage omitted]

Solana Praises Ties

LD0602181390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1203 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Moving up the GDR parliamentary elections to 18 March has complicated the time frame for the preparations, People's Chamber President Dr. Guenther Maleuda explained in Berlin today during a talk with Mexican Foreign Minister Fernando Solana Morales. This date precludes a broad discussion among the population, which is, however, of extraordinary importance for the creation of a legitimate People's Chamber and government in view of the developments in the country.

The two politicians were in agreement that the positive relations between the two states are being further developed through Solana's visit to the GDR. Maleuda invited a Mexican parliamentary delegation to visit the GDR. Solana said that Mexico is following the process of radical change in Europe, in Germany, and in Berlin with great interest.

Solana, who has been on a two-day official visit to the GDR since Monday, had earlier been received by Premier Dr. Hans Modrow. After his visit to Guenther Maleuda, the Mexican foreign minister met acting State Council Chairman Professor Dr. Manfred Gerlach. After this meeting, the Mexican foreign minister laid a wreath at the Unter den Linden memorial for the victims of fascism and militarism.

Envoy Comments on Israeli Relations Talks

LD0502172890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1615 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Ambassador Reiner Neumann said in Berlin today that the talks he held in Copenhagen last week with Israeli diplomats about the normalization of relations between the GDR and Israel had been useful. Speaking to representatives of the press, he said that the first direct contact between representatives of the two foreign ministries had taken place in a good and very businesslike atmosphere. Denmark had acted as host in response to Israeli requests, but had played no role as intermediaries.

Both sides, the department chief in the GDR Foreign Ministry stressed, had shown interest in the establishment of diplomatic relations during the exploratory talks. However, such a step has to be approached with calm, businesslike competence and a sense of balance in order to bring about agreed arrangements on a number of issues. For its part, the GDR set no preconditions for normalization of relations between the two states.

Nemann said he had agreed with Michael Shiloh, adviser to the Israeli foreign minister, to remain silent about the specific content of the talks. They had also agreed to continue the talks in the framework in which they had begun. In his view, the preconditions for this existed.

The diplomat pointed out that the contacts with Israel were part of the GDR's Middle East policy. It is based on the right of the Palestinians to a state of their own, and the right of the Israelis to an existence within secure borders. As Premier Hans Modrow stressed in his government statement in November, the GDR wants to establish normal relations with all countries of this region. What matters is to make clear the traditions of the GDR as an antifascist state. In line with the Potsdam agreement, the GDR has fulfilled its reparation commitments, but there is still the question of humanitarian obligations toward Jewish survivors of the Holocaust. This includes the political acceptance of German history.

Environmental Agreement Signed with Denmark

LD0502215390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1516 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR and Denmark plan to cooperate in a more concrete and targeted way in environmental protection. This is the result of a bilateral treaty, concluded in Copenhagen, aimed at combating pollution of the Baltic by oil and chemicals. Both sides commit themselves to brief one another in the event of pollution and to provide aid in the form of experts and equipment, and of scientific and technological advice. Environment Minister Lone Dybkjaer, who signed the treaty together with GDR Ambasador Werner Krause, emphasized the cooperation between the two countries in environmental protection since 1985. A new quality will now be achieved, which will consist in acting jointly in line with ecological requirements.

Details of Secret Weapons Export Depot Given

LD0702175590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1702 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Neubrandenburg (ADN)—About two months after the discovery of the secret weapons export depot of the IMES company in Kavelstorf, near Rostock, the precise number of the weapons and munitions stored there have been made public. At the beginning of December, a total of 24,760 submachine guns, 1,398 machine guns, 198 carbines, and 1,691 revolvers, pistols, and shotguns were impounded. This was announced

today in Waren (Neubrandenburg Bezirk), where the weapons are being stored for the time being. [passage omitted]

The People's Navy and the State Prosecutor's Office now have sealed up the weapons and munitions once again. The govenment will decide on where the weapons and munitions are to be stored in the future. [passage omitted]

Charges To Be Brought Against Tisch, Goetting

LD0702162890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1010 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Charges are likely to be brought in the coming week against former trade union leader Harry Tisch and former Christian Democratic Union [CDU] Chairman Gerald Goetting. The charges—in particular the squandering of state funds and resources—have been largely confirmed. The deputy prosecutor-general, Professor Dr. Lothar Reuter, announced this today at a news conference in Berlin.

The first and foremost of other preliminary proceedings was that of high treason against Erich Honecker, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mielke, and Joachim Herrmann. They were charged with having systematically and unconstitutionally usurped power. This included flagrant human rights violation such as electoral manipulation and suppression of evidence. Other accusations against them relate, amongst other things, to the total prevention of media freedom and the deformation of the national economy.

SPD Plans National Congress 22-25 Feb

LD0602223690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2035 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The national party congress of the Social Democratic Party in the GDR (SPD) is taking place from 22 to 25 February 1990 in Leipzig.

The SPD Press Service said further to ADN on Tuesday that Willy Brandt, Johannes Rau, Oskar Lafontaine are expected as guests, as well as Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson and the CSSR head of state, Vaclav Havel.

Willy Brandt intends to speak at a concluding rally due to take place on 25 February at 1400 [1300 GMT] on the Karl-Marx-Platz in Leipzig.

Social Democrats Hold Rally in Berlin

LD0702223190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2043 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Under the motto "Our future in Europe," leading representatives of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] in the GDR and the Federation of Social Democratic Parties of the EC states, as well as socialist groups in the European Parliament met at the Berlin Volksbuehne theater for a mass rally this evening. The podium discussion centered on developments in the two parts of Germany and the European process of unification.

In his welcoming speech, the business manager of the GDR-SPD, Ibrahim Boehme, described the event as a demonstration of solidarity by European social democracy. He underlined that the SPD, which had grown in the four months of its existence to over 80,000 members, is aware that after March it would have to take on responsibility together with other democratic forces for internal, foreign, and social policy in the GDR in the interests of the people.

The SPD supported a unified, free, socially just Germany that no neighboring country need fear. He said that the Social Democrats would do everything to ensure that the economic reorientation and the new economic structure would be shaped in social democratic responsibility and tradition.

Guy Spitaels, president of the Federation of Social Democratic Parties in the EC, stated amid applause from those present that he would submit a proposal before the Federation Congress tomorrow that the SPD in the GDR should be given observer status.

The chairman of the SPD in the FRG, Hans-Jochen Vogel, also spoke in favor of immediately tackling whatever was feasible in cooperation between the two German states in the SPD podium discussion. He was thinking in particular of the economy, currency, environment, transport, and culture. The FRG must make its contribution to this, said Vogel. [passage omitted]

New Forum Co-Founder Views Leftist Alliance

LD0802004590 East Berlin Television Service in German 1838 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Interview with New Forum co-founder Baebel Bohley by correspondent Michael Illner on the "Aktuelle Kamera" news bulletin; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The civic movements New Forum, Democracy Now, and Peace and Human Rights Initiative have agreed on forming an election alliance in Berlin today. Until 18 March, there is to be a joint program and joint electioneering by the three leftist groups. Divergent accentuations were announced for the fields of Germany and economic policy. Michael Illner talked to New Forum representative Baebel Bohley:

[Illner] You will agree on a joint election platform. What should be its key elements, in your view?

[Bohley] Well, first of all, democratization should be continued further because it is far from complete, with difficulties becoming apparent almost everywhere. You can tell that the old structures are still in place. Moreover, we are very much in favor of preventing the GDR people's sovereignty and responsiblity from being

absorbed by the West. Instead, we want to co-determine our future course, which I think, is an essential element of democratization. We also have a strong interest in seeing ecological security in the GDR, which will inevitably be neglected if nothing but investment is to follow; control of economic restructuring; and, more than anything, social security measures, which will have to be taken at any rate in order not to see too many people drop out.

[Illner] You have thus already made a statement on the potential voters you are addressing. Where, do you think, is that potential and what is your target group?

[Bohley] We would, for that matter, like to address all those who still have the courage to go their own way and take steps of their own.

[Illner] FRG politicians do not seem to go to great lengths to win the favor of New Forum or other civic movements in the GDR, and you do not seem very keen either. Is that something like an act of defiance, or is it part of your political ethics?

[Bohley] Well, I think parties will invariably feel challenged by civic movements, because it is those movements that ought to have control over the parties, after all. The Western parties are busy enough leaving their mark on the new parties that have arisen in the GDR. This way they are not very interested in civic movements, which in my view only goes to show that they are not interested in real democratization in the GDR either. For anyone who seriously wants democratization and is aware of its importance simply cannot afford to ignore the civic movements. With the parties alone it cannot be done, that much has already become clear.

KPD Appeals for National Sovereignty

AU0702225690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN report: "KPD Appeal for GDR Sovereignty"]

[Text] In an appeal by the KPD [Communist Party of Germany], it described its objective as "to draw up a joint program and to show ways for maintaining the independence of our country." The KPD is in favor of a peaceful integration process of the European peoples, to which the people of the GDR contribute in a sovereign way with their social and cultural achievements. "We are only able to preserve our social achievements if we remain independent and actively support worldwide cooperation. In this spirit we ought to join forces and fight for joint positions."

Founding Congress of Green League Ends

AU0702225890 East Berlin NEUES ZEIT in German 5 Feb 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Green League Founded"]

[Text] Merseburg—The founding congress of the Green League ended in Schkopau on Saturday [3 February] with the election of a Central Spokesmen's Council and the adoption of the statute and the working program. Fifty-year-old Klaus Schlueter, a roundtable representative who is not affiliated with any party, was given a mandate by the delegates to participate in the Modrow government until 18 March as a minister without portfolio.

Conservative Parties Form Election Alliance

LD0502221890 Hamburg DPA in German 2128 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (DPA)—The three conservative GDR parties, Democratic Awekening (DA), German Social Union (DSU), and the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) will contest the People's Chamber election on 18 March as an "Alliance for Germany." Representatives of the three parties reached an understanding on this in the presence of the CDU chairman, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, in West Berlin this evening. [passage omitted]

Kohl said that he will report back on this decision to the party executive on Thursday. He underlined his intention to take part in the election campaign in the GDR and announced that he will appear at six events.

Lothar de Maiziere, chairman of the GDR CDU, said he is very content with the result that had come about very simply after initially difficult negotiations. The decision of the roundtable not to allow any election campaign speakers from the Federal Republic into the GDR was criticized by him as an intervention in the freedom of the parties to make their own decisions. The CDU will not allow itself to be divested of the freedom to invite whom it wishes. [passage omitted]

NDPD Welcomes Modrow's Unity Concept

AU0602113990 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 3-4 Feb p 1

[Unattributed report: "NDPD (National Democratic Party of Germany) Skeptical About Conditions"]

[Text] Berlin—"The National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] sees its own ideas and expectations

basically confirmed by the concept, "For Germany, a single fatherland," presented to the public by chief of government, Hans Modrow, and therefore welcomes this statement, a spokesman for the party says in a statement that was handed to BERLINER ALLGEMEINE.

In addition, it is stressed in this statement: "The NDPD is known to have been one of the first in the People's Chamber to introduce, in the fall of 1989, the idea of a German confederation into political discussion, and has thus considerably influenced the search for possibilities and ways regarding the future shaping of German-German relations and corresponding state structures."

"The party is skeptical about the idea of military neutrality of the GDR and the FRG suggested by Prime Minister Modrow as a prerequisite on the road to a German federation. The dynamic process of rapprochement between the two German states should not be complicated or hindered by preconditions. The concerns of the European neighbors must not be dispelled by a neutral all-German state; they can much rather be efficiently dispelled by the process of German unification taking place within the process of European unification."

Dresden 'Pax' Group Urges No Military Alliance

LD0702112790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1046 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—A united Germany must, under no circumstances, belong to any military pact—either the Warsaw Pact or NATO. The present developments in Europe have shown that the two military blocs have lost their original purpose. The Dresden Human Rights group "Pax" notes this in a letter to FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, which was also sent to ADN.

"The democratic movements in Dresden, Leipzig, and Berlin certainly did not intend for the military bloc to simply be exchanged. We believe, rather, that the efforts of the German people should be directed toward the creation of a neutral, democratic, and peaceful new German state," "Pax" notes.

The human rights group asked Helmut Kohl to use his authority as federal chancellor to ensure that a future Germany will be a member of neither of the two military blocs and that the military service be completely abolished.

Citizens Party To Be Founded in Mar

AU0602120890 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG German 31 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN/BZ report: "New Party To Be Founded in Late March—'The Citizens'"]

[Text] The constitution of a party called "Die Buerger" ["The Citizens"] is planned for late March. According to a statement issued by the founding committee, the national-liberal party, which considers itself committed to the liberal tradition of German humanism, wants to fight for a "new future of Germany in a free Europe." "The Citizens" have announced a labor policy that bans mass unemployment. Contact address: Hans-Walter Bruesewitz, 2 Freiligrathstrasse, Schulzendorf 1603, near Berlin; telephone: Berlin 3 72 49 05, after 1700.

Commentary on Modrow's Neutrality Concept

LD0702161590 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1617 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Studio commentary by Colonel Wolfgang Lehmann, retired—recorded]

[Excerpts] According to Modrow's own words, his ideas about the military neutrality of a united Germany were meant to be an offer for dialogue. [passage omitted] As yet there have not been any feasible and coordinated concepts on how this German-German process of rapprochement and unification, which is gaining its own dynamics now, should be integrated into the European context and concurrently be made controllable in political terms, without old fears of being threatened reviving or even new such fears emerging.

Thus, complicted military policy problems have to be solved in that context. Those rather earthy positions, which were taken up in the West on this subject and are still in vogue, are aimed at simply clapping the NATO helmet over the GDR—and that's that. Such age-old thinking must be assumed when it comes to Pentagon chief Cheney. Also FRG Defense Minister Stoltenberg gave some signals that were at least unclear when in Munich he stated that one must insist upon each state's right to defend its territory on its own national border, which means forward defense.

Would that be under a NATO structure, on the Oder or the Neisse River? Aside from the sensibility of the borders toward Poland and the CSSR, the existing security structures in Europe would be downright toppled over then.

Of course, there were other opinions, for example the Genscher formula "Germany within NATO, but NATO not as far as the Oder River." Or there was the Momper pattern of a demilitarized GDR with Soviet troops deployed there temporarily.

But all those ideas seem to be first thoughts that are by no means definite solutions. Definite answers cannot be given. One will have to go on thinking, will have to negotiate with each other—and the Germans in the GDR will have to be asked. [passage omitted]

If the growing-together process by the Germans will take place in harmony without becoming a nightmare to others, then it must be carefully embedded in the process of building security structures in Europe that go beyond the blocs. That requires that changes be made to the opposite blocs. Instead of military-political instruments,

they must become political alliances that safeguard security and stability in a period of radical changes.

Their military organization should be disbanded and an all-European security created. That would mean goodbye to images of foes, to deterrence doctrines, and to nuclear first-strike concepts. Logically, that would result in an interplay of unification and disarmament. Within the CSCE framework, prospects are already perceivable leading from the reduction of conventional force up to offensive incapability. In that connection, the idea of militry neutrality would be justified—but not as a final stage, but as an initial step toward a desirable demilitarization of Germany and all of Europe. [passage omitted]

Erfurt City Assembly Dissolves Itself

LD0702171490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1610 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Erfurt (ADN)—The Erfurt city assembly dissolved itself with a large majority of votes today. Day-to-day business is to be taken over by an "interim parliament" that includes five representatives of each of the parties and organizations of the roundtable.

The deputies of the city parliament had previously decided to dissolve the three north, central and south Erfurt city borough assemblies and all their bodies with the forthcoming municipal elections and to transfer their tasks to the future city parliament and the council. [passage omitted]

Dresden Area Council Chairman Resigns

LD0702164190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1618 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Professor Dr. Wolfgang Sieber, chairman of the Dresden Area Council, resigned today. He said he took the step because of the great differences that had arisen with the president and Presidium of the Area Assembly.

Sieber was only sworn into office by parliament last Thursday. This was preceded by a vote of no-confidence. In an ensuing vote, 53.4 percent of the deputies voted for the ex-Robotron director general and professor at the Zittau Technical College.

Justice Minister Discusses Judicial Reform

AU0702134390 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 25 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Article by Justice Minister Kurt Wuensche: "A Radical Judicial Reform"]

[Text] It is beyond dispute that today we need a comprehensive and, in many respects, radical reform of the law in general and of the judiciary in particular. The fundamentally changing conditions of our political and economic social framework also mean that the law needs to be adapted to these conditions. At the same time, the legal and judicial reform is the precondition for making the process of change irreversible.

In its relationship with the law, the role of the state and the state apparatus must be newly determined. In this respect, the current situation can be called critical but, at the same time, promising. At present, ignorance of how the law and the administration of justice can operate as a barrier to arbitrariness and anarchy, and can accelerate and support the change in all social fields, is clearly evident.

In this sense, the law certainly is and remains an important instrument of politics; politics, however, which in the future will be the result of a pluralistic process of the determination of will and no longer the "announcement" by an allegedly Marxist political bureaucracy that believes that it possesses eternal truths.

Nevertheless: In the future, the law will, at the same time, be the measure of politics everywhere and for everybody, with the people who exercise power in particular voluntarily adhering to social norms that have been approved by the majority and, therefore, have state authority and may claim to be enforced by the state.

If one recognizes the law as a measure of politics, then one asks oneself virtually automatically the more far-reaching question about the sources and measure of the law. One must ultimately, clearly understand the self-evident truth that there is no legal order that does not have historical preconditions. It cannot be denied that in the course of the historical sequence of the various social systems there is something like a transcending general civilizational development of legal principles, postulates, and institutions, by which every law-governed state, regardless of its social self-image, has to measure itself.

I deliberately formulate this here as a counterpoint to the view of those, including individual leading judicial functionaries, who, until immediately before the change, saw the law as an arbitrarily usable means of power, that is, of the few who were really powerful at that time. Almost inevitably, they then also tried to defame the advocates of the concept of a law-governed state, according to which the law has to be the measure of politics, as "deviates" or even as counterrevolutionaries and to mobilize parts of the then-existing apparatus of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany against them.

The reform has to be started, even if at this time one can only see some cornerstones at best and one cannot yet see the clear contours of the future social development of our republic. In this field in particular, we cannot and must not wait for "orders," but we have to act independently and responsibly and have to make our contribution to the process of renewal.

If the reform is to produce new concepts, this presupposes understanding the role the judiciary has adopted so far in our country and understanding to which degree it has contributed to the social crisis that has developed

and to the formation of a deformed bureaucratically administratively managed society.

The judicial development in the GDR needs to be assessed soberly and in a very differentiated way; despite all the problems and incomplete information provided to the citizens it is not a chain of mistakes, violations of the law, and wrong decisions. For the most part the judicial organs fulfilled the tasks they were given by the Constitution. Within this framework, the courts, state notaries, and public prosecutor's offices acted and made decisions on the basis of valid legal regulations; the large majority of proceedings were carried out in accordance with the principles of a law-governed state and remained free of influence and orders from third parties. This applies not only to the settlement of legal conflicts and legal matters in the field of civil, family, and labor law, but also to the discovery and punishment of general crimes.

However, in the past it happened in the field of justice that the law and the administration of justice were abused in order to enforce a doctrine of power, which was based on a wrong image of security. By violating democratic principles of legislation, laws or individual norms were developed in the judicial field that did not or did not fully correspond to the will of the people. The content of laws was predetermined—often several times in the process of their development—sometimes concerning every detail, through a decision in advance in the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Thus, the act of passing these laws by the highest body of representation of the people, which itself was not willing to live up to its constitutional function, was demoted to a formal act of approval. In this way there developed laws that juridically created the former party and state leadership's sole claim to leadership and criminalized actions that were directed against that leadership's ideas of security. This produced the environment for decisions by the judiciary in the area of the penal code related to political matters—but not only there—that, even though they were proclaimed by the courts "on behalf of the people," did not correspond to the welfare of the people and ran counter to their feeling of what is right and just. This applies in particular to the political criminal law in Chapters 2 and 8 of the Penal Code, which was increasingly extended and made more stringent by the criminal law amendment Acts No. 1 to 3. This disgrace of our legal system, large parts of which actually remain intact, urgently needs to be corrected by legislation.

The judiciary, which has so far been considered and has acted as part of the uniform socialist state power, was thus certainly not free of Stalinist structures of thinking and organization and of bureaucratic-administrative forms. In the courts, too, whose independence is laid down in the Constitution, a centralist leadership system, which was not easy for the public to see through and which facilitated interference in the administration of justice, was built. Basic questions of the work of the judicial organs were coordinated and decided in advance at meetings of heads and deputies; at all levels, the security organs were included. Through so-called "Common Standpoints," guidelines for the application of laws were issued that were in fact binding. In order to be able to act against people who thought differently in political matters, legal regulations were extensively interpreted and undermined in a tendentious manner under the impact of political events; orders by the central judicial organs made sure that the subordinate organs of judicial administration followed a centrally stated will and applied the law accordingly.

Violating the independence of the judiciary, individual proceedings in politically sensitive matters were influenced , in a way that sometimes went as far as specific orders about the decision that had to be made. Functionaries of regional party and state organs also believed that they could interfere in the administration of justice. Such structures and mechanisms and the reasons they spread must be eliminated with all consistency and their restoration must be prevented.

An important step toward this end is, as Premier Modrow stated in his government statement, "to set down and delineate precisely the various functions of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches in order to have guarantees against the abuse of power and office." Power is indivisible, it rests indivisibly with the people, but the democratic exercise of this power can only be ensured if the three basic state powers are separate and if they mutally check and balance themselves. Therefore, a new constitution of our country must not only pledge itself to the principle of the sovereignty of the people but at the same time it must—in deliberate contrast to the so-far mostly dogmatic unity of state power—lay down the principle of the separation of power and the principle of a law-governed state. The Constitution must give every power its place and its limits.

Deputy Premier on Opportunities for New Groups

AU0702105190 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 25 Jan 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Statements by Peter Moreth, deputy premier for local organs and member of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, at the roundtable: 'Chances for the New Groups'"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers considers it essential that the GDR remain governable and that the law is observed and enforced in the interest of its citizens. Mayors, deputies, and employees of the local state organs are making a great effort to do everything in their power to achieve this, for which they certainly deserve our thanks. Most of the local people's representative bodies and their organs are making the greatest efforts and are ensuring that they remain capable of action.

Nevertheless, there is a clear tendency to call into question the state's authority and responsibility, a tendency for the mayors and councils to receive less and less support. As a result, many people's representative bodies are being forced to make decisions on new personnel.

This is also the explanation for the demand of thousands of deputies of the district, city, and village parliaments to hold elections at the earliest possible time also for the people's representative bodies of the districts, cities, and villages. An immediate and clear decision is expected.

However, until the free, democratic, and secret elections are held, everything has to be done to ensure the capability of action of the local state organs. Experience in the meantime confirms the actions recommended by the government statement concerning trusting cooperation at the roundtable. In all areas, almost all districts and cities, roundtable talks are being held. The dialogue between new parties, political groups, and associations and the people's representative bodies, the councils, and their chairmen has been initiated.

New Groups Participate in Varied Ways

Roundtables are becoming effective in Schwerin Area, for instance, for solving tasks in culture and tourism, and in Frankfurt (Oder) Area at the area and district level in particular for education, culture, and environmental protection. In preparation of leadership decisions of the council of Karl-Marx-Stadt Area for improving services and repairs, representatives of a New Forum crafts working group were included. Representatives of new parties and groups are participating in the area assemblies of Dresden, Halle, Karl-Marx-Stadt, and Suhl, as well as in the city assemblies of Rostock and Dresden. Representatives of new parties and groups are participating in standing commissions in the area assemblies of Gera and Karl-Marx-Stadt and the district assemblies of Borna and Leipzig. In Fuerstenwalde District and in the city of Triebes, representatives of new parties and groups use the meetings of the councils for information and discussion. In Eisenach and Zittau, representatives of the Social Democratic Party and of New Forum have been elected as members of the councils.

Provided you approve, the government is ready to present to the GDR People's Chamber for decision the following proposals to supplement the law on local elections in the GDR:

1. Local elected assemblies are empowered

a) to coopt representatives of new parties, associations, and political groups to the local parliaments and

b) to decide on groups that have to be newly formed;

2. to authorize citizens' assemblies to grant further legitimation for work as deputies in such local assemblies as are unable to form a quorum;

3. we have recommended all local councils to propose interested citizens from the new parties, associations, and political groups for the peoples' representative bodies as members in commissions and work groups. Advisory councils for the preparation of leadership decisions of the councils are also conceivable. And, finally,

4. we could imagine that roundtables use the opportunity of presenting proposals to local assemblies for the election of full-time and honorary council members from the ranks of the new parties, political groups, and associations.

Law and Administration College

Every state administration needs experts. For this reason, the Council of Ministers will soon discuss the establishment of a Law and Administration College, as well as of a suitable technical school where jurists receive basic and advanced training for the state administration in particular. We proceed from the premise that you, too, are interested in such basic and advanced training and the rules for admission to studies for your members with a view to the future. Permit me to invite you to participate in working out the profile of this training institution and to participate in decided the ways and means of admitting students. Please, name your authorized representatives for this purpose immediately.

Soviet Army Maneuvers Set for Feb-May

LD0802101790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] Denes Csengey, member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum Presidium, speaking yesterday at the national summit meeting, repeatedly asked if there will be any Soviet military maneuvres at the time of the elections in Transdanubia. According to a report in NEPSZABADSAG, Premier Miklos Nemeth explicitly denied this and said that in the earlier training plan there were indeed plans for Soviet military maneuvres in Hungary, but these had been renounced by the competent Soviet officials on the basis of a mutual agreement.

However, NEPSZAVA carries completely different information. Our newsreader, [name indistinct], will now acquaint you with this:

[Newsreader] Staff members of NEPSZAVA have investigated reports on planned Soviet military maneuvers based on the communique of the National [word indistinct] Service, and alluding to Soviet Captain (Klebov), who stated in MAGYAR HIRLAP: The Southern Army Group will not hold military maneuvers in either February or March.

The NEPSZAVA staff members telephoned Hungarian Democratic Forum staff members in Veszprem, who quoted an official statement from page eight of the 26 January issue of the local paper, in which the Territorial Command of the Soviet Army informs the population that it will be holding artillery and military maneuvers in the vicinity of Veszprem from 1 February to 30 May.

The journalists then telephoned an officer of the Southern Army Group, Colonel (Kristof Korespov), who told NEVSZAVA the following: It is possible that there will after all be military maneuvers in the vicinity of Veszprem, but this is the Territorial Command's discovery. Following further questioning, he stated that at the given time, over a three-month period, Soviet troops from throughout the country will move to the Veszprem region and, working in relays, will carry out military maneuvers until 30 May. By way of reassurance, the colonel added: This will not be a large, amalgamated military maneuver; it is merely lots of little ones.

Karpati Wants Soviet Troops Confined to Barracks

LD0802093190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] The defense minister has called on the commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group to not carry out any maneuvers or artillery practice from February to April that would require the troops to leave their local garrisons.

This information was given to Hungarian radio by Lieutenant Colonel Laszlo Csikos, deputy head of the Defense Ministry's Main Press Department. He said that Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati this morning summoned to the Ministry the commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group and asked for a briefing on the kind of maneuvers that are being planned for the coming months on Hungarian territory.

The commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group said that for this period they are not planning any more significant maneuvers at all, that they will only be carrying out leading artillery [vezetesi loeveszeti] tasks to be performed in the course of training and at the subunit level.

Government Decree Restricts Arms Sales

LD0702173990 Budapest MTI in English 1449 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 7, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian Government has recently issued a new decree which lays down rules for the export of arms manufactured in Hungary.

The decree puts a ban on the sale of arms to countries which violate human rights or which are, or are likely to be, involved in armed conflict with a third country.

In addition, arms export licences will only be granted if the customer undertakes not to pass the weapons on to a third party without specifying the country.

With arms manufacture and exports figures still a secret, it is difficult to obtain a clear picture of Hungary's arms industry, particularly as military equipment is produced by companies which also manufacture other products, such as Videoton Electronics, the Diosgyor Machine Factory, the Precision Mechanical Company, the Mechanical Laboratory, the Labor Instrument Industrial Works, and the Weapons and Gas Appliance Company.

In 1987 sales of products for military use accounted for 22 per cent of total net turnover of these firms, while 80 per cent of such products, worth 20 billion forints' ($425 million), were exported.

1989 saw a considerable drop in military production, with a 30 per cent fall in orders, and the trend is likely to continue this year, thus rendering the new restrictions largely irrelevant.

Communications equipment and instruments account for 75 per cent of Hungary's military production, while artillery and infantry firearms and ammunition make up 12 per cent, vehicle and aircraft maintenance contracts 8 per cent, and chemicals and light industrial products for military use 5 per cent.

Further on Border Guard Press Briefing

LD0602230190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Journalists were briefed at the National Command of the Border Guard today. Our reporter was Laszlo Gardai:

[Begin Gardai recording] Last year was a record breaker for the Border Guard. There were 33,000 attempts at illegal border crossings, which is a record. In September, 50,000 GDR citizens left for the West, legally, it is true; and 15,000 refugees came to our country from Transylvania. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Gal on Interior Ministry Reorganization

AU0802105990 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 2 Feb 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Interior Ministry State Secretary Zoltan Gal by Attila Schmidt; date and place not given: "The Goal Is a European Police Attitude"]

[Excerpts] As is well known, following the forced resignation of the interior minister, the government commissioned Zoltan Gal to lead the ministry. He gave an interview to NEPSZAVA on the Interior Ministry's situation.

[Schmidt] Mr. Gal, when the resignation of the interior minister became obvious, did you count on being commissioned by the government to head the ministry?

[Gal] In those days we did not deal with who would be charged with heading the ministry. In any case, I did think at that time that the situation was unsuitable for the election of a new interior minister, and, therefore, as a state secretary, I would have to head the activity of Interior Ministry bodies for a short time. The constitutional rights of the state secretary enable this.

[Schmidt] After all, what happened to the members of the disbanded Internal Security Service?

[Gal] Their situation has been settled from the labor rights perspective. Many of them retired, and some of them were discharged; those who continued to serve were offered jobs in the Police Department and were put in charge of transport, criminal, and public security activities. The Internal Security Service has practically ceased to exist, but there continue to be tasks that cannot be avoided, like uncovering crimes against humanity and crimes against the state, gathering intelligence on preparations for terrorist attacks, defending important personalities, providing special security to certain institutions, and providing security services during visits of foreign statesmen in Hungary. [passage omitted]

[Schmidt] Are secret service methods still applied?

[Gal] Of course, certain secret service methods will have to be used in the future too, but only within a legal framework and under adequate control. [passage omitted]

[Schmidt] What is the Romanian refugees' situation? Have they returned or do they continue to live in Hungary?

[Gal] Unfortunately, there is still great uncertainty. The 27,000 Romanian citizens who have been living in Hungary for a longer time—including 5,000-6,000 Romanians—are waiting, and, given the situation, their attitude is understandable. [passage omitted]

[Schmidt] Are Romanian refugees still coming to Hungary?

[Gal] Yes, they are. Most of them arrive with passports, but some of them are still coming through the "green border." [passage omitted]

SZDSZ, FIDESZ Not To Attend Summit

LD0602223790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] The planned national summit will not be a complete success. Along with the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] will also not participate in the 7 February national summit. Both organizations believe that the subjects proposed by interim president of the Republic, Matyas Szuros, should have been prepared in advance. FIDESZ proposed that the summit be postponed to the end of February.

The Hungarian Democratic Forum accepted Matyas Szuros' invitation, but believes that before the elections, a price freeze should be ordered, among other things, because further increases could completely dampen society's spirits.

Political Parties Launch Consultations

LD0702192190 Budapest MTI in English 1800 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 7 (MTI)—A consultation was launched in parliament on Wednesday between representatives of sixteen political parties and Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic, Miklos Nemeth, prime minister, and Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of parliament.

Recalling the previous political coordinating talks, Mr Szuros, who chaired the meeting, said, 'Participants of the December negotiations have been invited to this meeting'.

He then read out a letter by the Alliance of Free Democrats [AFD] which states the AFD considers the coordinating meeting necessary, but says the present consultation has not been properly prepared. Mr Szuros added he had received a letter from the FYD [Federation of Young Democrats] with a similar message.

Then, speaking about the agenda for the consultation, Mr Szuros said the forum should discuss the most important questions pertaining to the period of peaceful transition up to the elections.

Denes Csengey, who also demanded the floor in order to comment on the agenda, passed on the recommendations of the HDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] relating to the agenda. Accordingly, the agenda should

include three major topics: The first is that the prices of basic foodstuffs should be freezed until March 25 in order to avoid deteriorating the public mood during the elections by further price rises. The other major topic should deal with the protection of national and self-government assets, while the third one should deal with banning military exercises in Hungarian territory during the election campaign.

Representatives of the parties participating at the consultation agreed, at interim President Szuro's proposal, to concentrate talks on the tasks ahead for the parliament, problems related to administration, the operation of the state apparatus, social problems and the ongoing preparation of the elections.

Subsequently. Prime Minister Nemeth, and acting speaker of parliament, Istvan Fodor, briefed participants on the progamme planned for parliament's February session, which includes ten bills, to be presented by the government, mostly proposing the amendment of the Constitution. In addition, the discussion of 11 motions by independent MPs is also planned.

Negotiations held on the first two subjects rambled on for over two hours, during which the parties were generally urging that only genuinely important bills should be discussed by parliament. Ferenc Kiczinger, delegate of the Independent Social Democratic Party, put it in the following way: "Parliament should finally come to recognise that it is licenced merely for the fulfilling of the tasks of trustee..."

Debates evolved mainly about the temporary freezing of prices, and especially over the election law, with delegates pressing the early abolition of the present system of election notice and nomination card. The National Federation of Centre Parties was demanding this measure so much as to state: "Failing to abolish this system the Federation is planning to call a boycott of the elections to protect their fairness..."

As a continuation of the December consultations, an over seven- hour exchange was held on Wednesday in the parliament building, between representatives of 16 political parties, and Matyas Szuros, interim president of the republic, Miklos Nemeth, prime minster and Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of the parliament. The invitation to attend, sent by Mr Szuros, was declined by the Alliance of Free Democrats, the Federation of Young Democrats and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary.

Participants came to the agreement that the consultations will be resumed at the beginning of March, and this round of talks will be attended by the parties in proportion to their MP candidates. Party representatives also proposed that Mr Szuros should invite to this conference the representatives of the trade unions and various interest representation organs as well.

In response to MTI's question, Mr Szuros said this consultation is likely to take place in the near future, after coordination with the organisations concerned.

The majority of the participants held it necessary for parliament to amend the election law as soon as possible. The essence of the amendment would be that the present system of nomination cards should be abolished, since it give rise to such misuses that endanger the democratism and fairness of elections. A complaint was already filed to the constitutional court by the Independent Hungarian Democratic Party about the nomination cards. The dispute was ended by the participants saying that they will wait until the court reaches its position on the issue.

Following a lengthy debate, and agreement was reached on the possibility of freezing prices of basic foodstuffs, whereby parties will urge companies to display self-restraint in the run-up to the March elections, and refrain from raising the price of especially of basic foodstuffs.

Concerning allegations about Soviet military maneouvres in Hungary, raised by Denes Csengey, speaking in the name of the Hungarian Democratic Forum's Presidium, Prime Minister Nemeth denied any such activity, adding that the news may have had some foundation since a spring military maneouvre was to be held in Hungary according to the programme of the Warsaw Treaty. It will not however be held as a result of repeated discussions.

HDF's Antall on Party's Image, Tasks

AU0702145790 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Jan 90 p 9

[Report on interview with Hungarian Democratic Forum Chairman Jozsef Antall by Andras Lukacsy; date and place not given: "Style Is the Test of Hungarian Policy"]

[Excerpts] With elections approaching, party manifestations have become more frequent, and so have the interparty feuds. In this situation, although we want to be an independent and objective organ, MAGYAR HIRLAP has been repeatedly forced to critically deal with statements made by certain representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF], manifestations that stirred a negative reaction. Our newspaper had to do this because we did not know whether these manifestations originated from private actions or were party policy. Therefore, I called up Jozsef Antall to clarify things, not only as chairman of the HDF but also as a public figure; and, for decades, I have had the opportunity to convince myself of his sobriety and moderation, as well as of the solidarity and humane way in which he helped a number of people whom the previous regime had unjustly put in a disadvantageous position. [passage omitted]

[Lukacsy] In your view, can one still imagine some sort of peaceful transition, or are we facing anarchy?

[Antall] Peaceful transition, which is of vital interest for Hungary in the foreign and domestic policy aspect, as

well as in the economic aspect, has become quite questionable with the current social tensions. The problem of Hungary's economic stability is becoming increasingly severe. In connection with this, social demagogy is present just like the often mistaken economic policy guidance referring to economic pressure.

[Lukacsy] Aware of the political battles, it seems that the HDF is trying to emotionally and politically persuade the masses. Is this not automatically accompanied by some sort of exclusion?

[Antall] I do not think that the HDF as a whole is conducting an emotional policy. It is common knowledge that general staff plans are worked out on rational basis, and only bayonet assaults can be led on the basis of emotions. The HDF as a whole is trying to formulate its policy on rational plans and principles, and does not want to rely on emotions more than any other political party. [passage omitted]

[Lukacsy] Several foreign press organs are accusing the HDF of nationalism, populism, and anti-Semitism. Can an exigent political movement afford something like this?

[Antall] Obviously, it cannot afford this, and these are indeed accusations. Most probably, these accusations stem from Hungarian sources and are almost as old as the HDF itself. At first, such accusations only appeared in some statements, and later also in interviews and press manifestations, and they were made both by the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and the opposition parties. In this way they wanted to increase their popularity and prestige abroad, as opposed to the HDF. I would like to point out that, according to its intentions, the HDF is neither nationalistic nor anti-Semitic. [passage omitted]

[Lukacsy] What is the HDF leadership's position on the issue of the oft- mentioned third way?

[Antall] It is also a totally unfounded accusation that the HDF believes in a third way, a way between capitalism and socialism, and that it has provincial ideas in this respect. The HDF clearly believes in a market economy and has closer ties with the international integration organizations than any other party. Thus, we would like to improve Hungary's situation by introducing foreign capital and by carrying out a thorough and wide-scale economic policy opening; all this is coupled with a carefully considered and systematic social policy. [passage omitted]

[Lukacsy] Today we are witnessing a landslide in East Europe. Do you have an international strategy in this respect, and does the national character of the HDF policy not hinder this strategy?

[Antall] The HDF accepts national values together with European values. We regard overall European integration as the only possible way. This integration is a Europe of various nations. The nations and nationality groups in Europe together make up European values, and we can also imagine a solution to the current tensions only within a European framework, tensions that led to so much tragedy in the past. [passage omitted]

Democratic Forum Outlines Foreign Policy Goals

LD0702150290 Budapest MTI in English 0803 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 7 (MTI)—"The Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] intends to promote conciliation and the unification of interdependent European nations," Lajos Fur, member of HDF's National Presidium, told a rally in Mosonmagyarovar Tuesday evening.

"The HDF centers its foreign policy around Europeanism, fair conciliation with the neighbouring peoples and espousing the affairs of Hungarians living in the Carpathian basin. It this spirit, the HDF is seeking contact with foreign parties which want to further democratization in the region, and fostering relations with the reviving peoples of Central and Eastern Europe. This is how the HDF would like to lead the country back to Europe, to which Hungary belonged for centuries and will hopefully continue to belong for many more centuries to come," said Lajos Fur.

Liberal Party Officials on Economic Program

AU0702144990 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Jan 90 p 6

[Report on interview with Liberal Party Chairman Vince Meszaros and "economic expert" Ferenc Saly by Denes Gyapay; date and place not given: The Liberals' Economic Program—Actions Instead Empty Debates"]

[Excerpts] The Hungarian Liberal Party was founded in the fall of 1989 without too much fanfare. They cannot boast of a camp of thousands of followers, nor do they keep it a secret that they believe in quality rather than quantity. They formulated their program in the spirit of the "reform-era Hungarian public thinking" and of the "European political culture." Vince Meszaros and Ferenc Saly gave an interview to MAGYAR HIRLAP on their economic policy concepts.

[Meszaros] In our view, according to the basic principles of liberalism, the economy is not the business of the state, but a matter for individuals, or an association of individuals, and it functions on the basis of free competition. Of course, liberalism does not mean—and cannot mean—that everything is free unbridled. Nobody questions a certain self-controlling role played by the state.

[Saly] We must also face certain fetishes, like the market economy. In this respect, the current Hungarian public thinking is similar to the one prevailing in the 1870's, when corporations had already developed. We are urging the development of modern market economy conditions, and we are for complete freedom of ventures and economic associations.

[Gyapay] In your view, what obstacles do we have to overcome for this?

[Saly] First of all, we must encourage enthusiasm for ventures. One can hardly question the fact that the current taxation system is inadequate for this. On the contrary, the current system forces people who want to succeed to engage in trickery and circumvent regulations. [passage omitted]

[Gyapay] What can the state do with the large-scale enterprises? Is there a liberal recipe for this?

[Saly] Of course, there is! We are convinced that, with certain methods, they can be forced to function better and more efficiently, and to manage more rationally and more economically. Just like in the developed industrial states, two things should be demanded from managers: profit and development. [passage omitted]

[Gyapay] As far as I know, the Liberal Party also believes in privatization and ownership reform. To what extent?

[Saly] By no means do we believe in total reprivatization. Rationally thinking, we consider this to be impossible to implement. However, within proper limits, we do support privatization. One need hardly prove the disadvantages of the exaggerated role played by our state in smaller areas such as the retail food trade. [passage omitted]

Hungarians' Prospects in Romania, CSSR

AU0702115390 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 29 Jan 90 p 3

[Editorial by Istvan Takacs: "Cautious Optimism"]

[Text] The political honeymoon is slowly coming to an end with our eastern and northwestern neighbors. The euphoric days of the revolution in the CSSR and Romania have now given way to more sober weekdays. Nobody can think seriously that these routine weekdays no longer contain any inflammable material.

Everything that automatically remained at the national level from the dictatorships' being dismantled (if I may use this expression) is inflammable material, and there is quite a lot of it. Perhaps the highest leadership level in Prague and Bucharest (a few dozen people) have already decided on how to build the new CSSR and the new Romania (although the signs are that these things have not yet been decided, because this very highest level new leadership is constantly under attack from both the left and the central right, as we can read daily in the press). But, let us suppose that the trends have nevertheless become consolidated and the concepts have already been formulated "up there" now at the end of January, 3-4-5 months before the announced free and democratic elections. However, what is the situation lower down? What about the thousands of people in the lower echelons who have not been removed from office? Those who were clever enough to quickly say B instead of A at the right moment. What if these these people who preserved their powers agree with the concepts of "higher echelons" in words but, in their well-considered basic interests, do nothing in practice to implement these concepts? Perhaps they will not actually sabotage anything but, as we know, inactivity is equal to sabotage. It is impossible to reorganize overnight a system developed and run for decades. It is even more difficult to change principles, delusions, indoctrinated mistaken views, and distorted ideology, even if the persons fed with all these distortions genuinely welcome the changes. (Something that is not automatically obvious at all.) Think of the so-called Rakosi era, which lasted only one decade (or even less); to this very day we have been unable to get rid of certain conscious and even structural effects of this era. When will we get rid of the three decades of the Kadar era? In view of this, some 20 years in Prague or 25 years in Bucharest were not enough to leave similar deep traces?

Roots are indeed deep there too. They are deep concerning an issue that we are particularly interested in, namely, the issue of national minorities. A total of about three million ethnic Hungarians live in the two neighboring countries: almost one-third of Hungary's population, or, about the entire population of Budapest, Miskolc, Debrecen, Szeged, and Pecs. Now that the discriminatory concepts of the old CSSR and Romanian national minority policies have, in principle, been discarded, it makes a difference what happens to these people.

Here is the rub, namely, the words: "in principle." It is a very promising development that several agreements have been reached at state-level negotiations in Bucharest and Bratislava in the past two weeks on the issue of Hungarian-language education, newspaper and book publications, teachers' training, and other major issues. However, Romanian aversions to Hungarian university, college, or even elementary school education there have already become known. We also know already that similar concepts in Slovakia have met with little tolerance on the part of Slovak lower-level leadership (village and town council levels.) Trumped-up charges and most probably provoked accusations have been voiced against the concepts of Hungarian education and the school system, in the spirit of the well- known "ideology" drilled for 25 years: nationalism and chauvinism. And the other newspaper readers and radio listeners (and who are not doing this nowdays?) know more than enough about this.

Of course, one needs optimism. We must honestly hope (and we do hope) that things will be settled sooner or later, and the optimal time for such a settlement has now arrived, a rare opportunity in history. However, there is no reason, time, or sense in having a hurray-type optimism. It would be foolish and self-deceiving to imagine that decades-old and extremely deep conflicts, confrontations, aversions, and even hatred—which the still valid school history books will joyfully continue to propagate among future masses of schoolchildren—could be settled overnight just because a few people left the Prague Castle and because the Genius of the Carpathians and his

engineer-academician wife with an education of four elementary classes are no longer among the living.

No doubt our neighbors want to get rid of the bad memories and burdens of their own past. They must also settle their own matters as thoroughly as possible and as soon as possible. This process will not be an easy, fast, or painless one. However, the national minority issue—and not only that of the Hungarians—should be settled within this framework. Given the intensity, depth, and tenacity of alienation, this represents an additional great problem. Perhaps this will require the same time as the time of alienation, even with the best of intentions and most efficient conditions.

Szokai on Relations With Romania

AU0802120990 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 1 Feb 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Imre Szokai by Katalin Decsi; date and place not given: "Ceausescu Is No More, But There Are No Guarantees Either"]

[Text] A statement issued in Bucharest on 30 January states that Romania agrees to reopen the Hungarian Main Consulate in Kolozsvar [Cluj], and it does not make this conditional on any timetable or the simultaneous operation of the Romanian main consulate in Debrecen. Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac announced this decision by the Romanian Government in a letter sent to Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn. In fact, this is an answer to a previous letter sent by Gyula Horn. The answer also mentions the need to open the Hungarian Cultural House in Bucharest and the Romanian Cultural House in Budapest. The answer points out that the Romanian side is ready for a constructive and friendly dialogue in order to place the Romanian-Hungarian relations on new foundations. This decision was preceded by news that referredt to obstacles hindering the settling of bilateral relations. What are these obstacles? What differences of views are there between the two sides? How do negotiations progress? Imre Szokai answered our questions in an interview given prior to the recent Romanian decisions.

[Szokai] Anyone who knows a little of the history of Hungarian- Romanian relations exercised restraint during the first euphoric moments. In the program "Panorama," broadcast on television on 29 January, a Romanian politician, Mrs. Enache, said that ever since the decision in Gyulafehervar [Alba Iulia; reference to decision which granted Transylvania to Romania], Romanian policy has constantly tricked the Hungarians. This policy declared principles and goals and later gradually discarded them. This is an historical experience.

At the same time, one should also be aware that the Hungarian policy has no other choice but to conduct a dialogue. We very much hope that after this change, Romania will be truly serious in its intention to return to Europe. For this, it must change its own domestic practice. In a democratic constitutional state, it is natural that the individual and collective rights of Hungarians living in Romania are stipulated by the law and that a framework of institutions is also developed to provide means for exercising these rights.

Both publicly and during bilateral negotiations with us, the National Salvation Front Council clearly admitted that the dictatorship had conducted a nationalist and chauvinistic policy. Inasmuch as this was the Romanian policy, they have to change the previous policy and apologize to the Hungarian people and the Hungarians in Romania for calling them nationalists and fascists for decades and for hurling all kinds of unfounded accusations at them.

[Decsi] Did you expect any progress from the Romanian-Hungarian foreign ministers' talks held in January?

[Szokai] I personally did not expect progress, precisely on the basis of historical experience. However, I must add that I very much hoped, and still hope, that this time the Romanian policy would confute this experience. I also feel bitter because they referred to such transparent technical and other obstacles that should not play any role in the case of truly honest intentions.

[Decsi] Did you discuss the issue of Hungarian-language education?

[Szokai] Of course we did. They gave us the same general promises as the ones given to the Hungarians in Romania.

[Decsi] A few days ago, Ion Iliescu asked for patience in this area.

[Szokai] I agree with Mr. Iliescu that it is difficult to expect a full and swift restoration of our educational institutions in Romania. The dictatorship has caused tremendous damage in this area, not only in these institutions, but also by the deliberate policy of forcibly relocating Romanians in settlements inhabited by Hungarians. If Hungarian schools and institutions are restored overnight, these people will become unemployed. Therefore, this task should be carried out with utmost care. However, I find it hard to agree with the accusation of separatism that accompanies these efforts.

[Decsi] President Mitterrand's statement in Bucharest has stirred emotions in Romania.

[Szokai] In connection with this, I would definitely stress that, in my view, this Romanian reaction shows the revival of old reflexes, a case in which a historical fact is raised to the rank of everyday policy and is used for argument. All that happened to Hungary following World War I and World War II, including the number of Hungarians finding themselves beyond our current borders, is a fact.

I also find it strange that the Romanian side is referring to the decision made in Gyulafehervar, a decision that stresses self- determination. I see here some kind of

selectivity: The principle is valid for the Romanians but not for other nationalities. The Helsinki Final Act, as well as the final document of the Vienna talks also include the principle of self-determination. Romania has confirmed that it considers this principle to be obligatory. International principles cannot be interpreted selectively.

[Decsi] Karoly Kiraly said that he thought a three-language Transylvania would be a solution. What is the official Romanian opinion about this?

[Szokai] I do not really know any such opinion. Romanian officials do not find this possible. My personal opinion is that, if they accept the importance of individual and collective rights of national minorities, and also intend to implement these rights in practice, this can only be implemented through the free use of the people's mother tongue. I agree with Karoly Kiraly that the Hungarian and German languages should also be recognized as official languages in Transylvania.

[Decsi] Refugees continue to arrive from Romania, almost exclusively Hungarians. What is the reason for this?

[Szokai] I would like to refer to a television interview in which a simple man from Transylvania said that the dog was chased away, but the chains remained. Ceausescu is gone, but there are not yet proper guarantees that all that happened during the dictatorship would not be repeated. I can see terrible uncertainty among the people. Regretfully, I must conclude that despite the fact that we agree with the Romanian policy that refugees should be returned to their homeland, the Romanian side does not carry out our proposals in this respect. These people should receive some guarantees that no harm would befall them if they return. They should even be granted full-scale financial, moral, and political rehabilitation. As long as these guarantees are not provided, we cannot count on their return to Romania.

The issue of double citizenship is also closely related to this. We have repeatedly initiated the complete or partial suspension of this agreement while we are negotiating the signing of a new treaty. Otherwise, the Hungarian side will be obliged to unilaterally abrogate this agreement. We would like to leave them the opportunity to prove with deeds that the Romanian policy is serious about returning to Europe. We have not yet received an official answer. If the Romanian side fails to come up with a positive answer by 10 February, we will have to take unilateral steps.

[Decsi] What was the atmosphere of the talks?

[Szokai] We have openly expressed out reservations to the Romanian side in the last one or two years, but they answered in a defensive way. They simply refused to speak about this. Now the Romanian side has also discussed the problems openly and has recognized the legitimate demands of the Hungarian side. This is progress.

Horn Departs for Talks in Canada 7 Feb

LD0702155290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] The Hungarian foreign minister has left for Ottawa at the invitation of the Canadian Government. Gyula Horn will meet leading politicians and representatives of business circles and will hold discussions on the expansion of bilateral relations. The leader of Hungarian diplomacy will take part in the so-called Open Sky consultation between NATO and Warsaw Pact foreign ministers, the preparation for which took place in Budapest last week.

Demonstrators Demand Soviet Withdrawal

LD0702185890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Today at 1500, the Anti-Communist Federation organized yet another demonstration at the main Krakow square under the slogan "Soviets go home".

About 1,000 participants in the protest moved from the market to the Soviet General Consulate, which this time was well protected by the OPMO [Prevention Detachments of Civic Militia, successor to ZOMO riot police].

[Begin recording; sound of chants: "Soviets go home"; "Down with Yalta"]

[Unidentified reporter, to passerby] What do you think about this demonstration?

[Unidentified man] We need peace now. I don't see any students here; I see some vagrants.

[Unidentified woman] I think that the Consulate should stay; consulates of all states should remain.

[A voice through a public address system] For the good of everyone, we call on you to disperse immediately.

[Unidentified man] Young people should get down to work and stop demonstrating. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Daily Opposes 'Early' Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD0802003590 Warsaw PAP in English 1920 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] London, Feb. 7—"It can be said without any exaggeration that all the European states are at one with us, with our stand (on Poland's western border) but sympathy is one thing and physical force is another," wrote the DZIENNIK POLSKI Polish-language emigration daily published in London.

"That is why we currently should not demand an early withdrawal of the Soviet troops, just like the Americans should not at the same time pull out from Germany until the new Helsinki has finally cleared the question of our borders. Only then the Russians and Americans may furl their wings in Europe...," the daily said.

"The Great Germany may become arrogant not only towards us and that is why, despite all, a watchful eye should be constantly kept on it, and, who knows whether the presence of the superpowers' garrisons should not be a final guarantee," the paper concluded.

RZECZPOSPOLITA Views Soviet 'Crisis'

LD0802115190 Warsaw PAP in English 1040 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 8—In a commentary headlined "Crisis of Perestroyka" the editor-in-chief of the government daily RZECZPOSPOLITA, Dariusz Fikus, wrote in part:

"From reports filing in from Moscow we know that the plenum ended in compromise, as some have it, or in Gorbachev's victory, as hold others. Gorbachev, who just a few months ago spoke firmly in favour of upholding Article 6 (on the leading role of the CPSU), at present decided to back the advocates of deleting the entry on the leading role of the party.

"Once again he turned out to be a pragmatist capable of adjusting to reality. And this reality is that for many months now the party's monopoly has in fact been broken in many republics.

"Some of the republics have already espoused multiparty principles in local elections. Sajudis in Lithuania or the People's Fronts in Latvia and Estonia have for long played the role of de facto opposition if not quasi-governments and do not conceal their intentions of struggling for full power in these republics.

"The lesson which befell communist parties in Eastern Europe is instructive. Wherever they were incapable of adjusting to changes, they were swept away sooner or later.

"Only in places where organized opposition forces formed in time, such as the Polish Solidarnosc, there was a possibility of a smooth landing, transformation, also of the Communist Party, and formation of a clear left. The Soviet Communists know this perfectly well.

"The USSR is at a turning point. No one denies this. But it still has a long way to go and this is a road which can be accompanied by both a return of war communism and instability, emergence of separatisms, perhaps even civil war and above all shortages," RZECZPOSPOLITA wrote.

Skubiszewski in Bonn for Official Visit

Views German Unity

LD0702054590 Warsaw PAP in English 2345 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Skubiszewski's Toast: Polish-German Unity of History; Summary"—PAP headline]

[Text] Bonn, Feb, 6—Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski recalled at the beginning of his toast that the treaty of 1970 resulted in normalization of the bilateral inter-state relations and made broad contacts between the nations of both countries possible.

On the plane of interhuman relations the reconciliation has practically taken place. It was the generation question to a large extent.

A lot has changed at the governmental level as well. I will not exaggerate if I say that never in the past were the thoughts and opinions of both ministers of foreign affairs so harmonious as they are now as concerns the state and prospects in the bilateral relations, rebirth of the spirit of European solidarity and unity.

New democratic forces in Central and Eastern Europe brought about the fall of totalitarian systems. Poland, and the solidarity in particular, played the pioneer role in that movement.

We are concerned about it very much that the FRG and the united Germany in future should appreciate this role of Poland in Europe and assess it in a way similar to ours.

We attach fundamental importance to the statement in the joint declaration of November 14, 1989 that inviolability of borders and respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe in their present borders are the fundamental condition for peace.

The Polish minister thanked Hans Dietrich Genscher and other politicians for their clear statements on Poland's western border.

Referring to the question of Germany unity, Minister Skubiszewski said:" Nobody must deprive a nation of the right to live in a chosen state community. We, in Poland recognize Germans' right to self- determination in Europe and with the guarantees of security.

In fact, without a new Euroepan system of security the idea of Germany's state unity would have several fundamental question marks.

Stating that the experience proved the existence of the Polish-German unity of history, Minister Skubiszewski recalled a statement of the outstanding chancellor who said that when Poles get on well, Germans thrive as well.

Meets Kohl; Communique Issued

LD0802045790 Warsaw PAP in English
2316 GMT 7 Feb 90

[By PAP correspondent Eugeniusz Guz]

[Text] Bonn, Feb. 7—On the third day of his visit to the FRG, Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski met here today with Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The meeting lasted half an hour longer than it was planned.

The communique published by the press office reads that the talk lasting for one and a half hours, held in a firmly friendly spirit proved the full convergence of views.

The talk focused on the reformatory movements in Eastern and Central Europe and on the situation in the GDR. Both sides agreed that all these processes are in close relations to each other.

Chancellor Kohl recalled his promise given to Premier Mazowiecki in Warsaw to support the process of reforms in Poland and to intensify cooperation. He underlined the FRG's share in the assistance for Poland.

The communique also says that minister Skubiszewski confirmed Poland's unlimited support for the right of all Germans to self-determination under the conditions of freedom. He agreed with the chancellor that Germanys must be united and included in the European system of security.

On the other hand, the idea of Germany neutrality or a separate road designed exclusively for Germans is historically outdated. Chancelor Kohl and Minister Skubiszewski confirmed also that the prospect of Germany unity and the German-Polish common interests may become an element in the European stability.

Press Conference of Skubiszewski and Genscher

At a press conference attended by the heads of diplomacy from both countries, Minister Skubiszewski said that the German question, the relations between Poland and the FRG and economic issues dominated in his talks with Chancellor Kohl.

Both ministers confirmed that they had made in Bonn a favourable balance of all that had been done since Chancellor Kohl's Visit to Poland.

In reply to the question on the German issue in the European context, Genscher said that the point is in building a European peaceful order and a Common European Home based on the CSCE. It would be important for stability in Europe that we as Germans should solemnly confirm these principles.

Asked whether following numerous statements here on the Odra-Nysa border Poland thinks it possible to consider that chapter as close [as received], Minister Skubiszewski said: "yes and no." We receive with satisfaction numerous univocal declarations, but views unsympathetic to Poland reach us as well. We see the issue in proper dimensions, Skubiszewski stated.

There was also a question on Poland's reaction if NATO forces were to be stationed at her border. Minister Skubiszewski answered that he could not get friendly with such a thought in the current conditions in Europe. We would like to avoid a move of the NATO to the east.

Other practical solutions in case of unification must be sought here, he added. One must not forget that the Soviet troops, however reduced, will remain on the GDR's territory.

Meeting With Otto Lambsdorff

Minister Skubiszewski met with leader of the ruling coalition party of Free Democrats Otto Lambsdorff.

The communique on the course of talks reads that Lambsdorff again confirmed the right of the Polish nation to living in safe borders that neither today nor tomorrow can be questioned.

On Wednesday [7 February] evening Minister Skubiszewski was the guest of the German Foreign Policy Association where he delivered a lecture on the state unity of the German nation and European development.

President Weizsaecker to Visit Poland

In an interview granted to the Thursday [8 February) issue of DIE WELT daily Minister Skubiszewski announced that FRG's President Richard von Weizsaecker will probably visit Poland in May.

Views Relations With FRG

AU0802111790 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 8 Feb 90 p 6

[Berndt Conrad report on interview with Foreign Minister Krzystof Skubiszewski in Bonn; date not given: "Poland and Germany Must Develop a Community of Interests"]

[Text] Bonn, 8 Feb—German-Polish reconciliation and the breakthrough in relations between Bonn and Warsaw, desired by both sides, are now reality, according to Polish Foreign Minister Krzystof Skubiszewski. In an interview with DIE WELT, he stressed: "We must have good relations. This is good for the people and good for Europe."

The minister was pleased by the statement Chancellor Kohl made in Paris, on 17 January, on Poland's Western border. Kohl stated there: "Nobody wants to link reunification with changing the existing borders." "I consider this important sentence a positive step forward," Skubiszewski pointed out. As a matter of fact, the chancellor also mentioned the fact that there are differences of opinion concerning the legal situation, "and this may in fact weaken the statement—but maybe it does not. The chancellor explained the legal situation, and then he made political statements. As a matter of fact, his political statements are more important for me. Thus, my assessment is very positive," Skubiszewski, an internationally renowned expert on international law, emphasized.

During a banquet, given in his honor by Foreign Minister Genscher, on Tuesday evening [6 February], the Polish official was strongly applauded when he spoke of a German-Polish community of fate, which is also a community of shared interests. He explained to DIE WELT what he means by that: "Poland is situated between Russia and Germany. It is an important task for the current government to have good, but normal relations with the Soviet Union. Now the unification of Germany has become topical. The state unity of the German people will become a reality in the future. Poland must now also have a Germany policy, not just a policy toward the two German states that still exist."

"We are neighbors and are situated in a geostrategic region in Europe," Skubiszewski continued. "Thus, we naturally have some common interests, and we must develop these interests. This is the fate of the two peoples. The existence of a German-Polish community of interests, as well as of a Polish-Soviet community of interests, is in the interest of Europe."

The Solidarity official described the current situation in the GDR as fluid. "This is, to use an English term, an understatement. Nobody knows how the situation in the GDR will develop in the next week or in the next two weeks." On the other hand, the FRG is a factor of stability. "Our accords, agreements, and demands that we are discussing do not only concern relations between Bonn and Warsaw, but also the future relations between Poland and a united Germany."

"We also cooperate with the GDR, and elements of this cooperation will also be included in our future Germany policy. I see all this as a continuous process," the foreign minister stressed.

Skubiszewski was not enthusiastic about the concept of a neutralized, unified Germany. He described it as "unclear, not practical, and maybe dangerous for the future." If a large people and an economic superpower are neutralized, "this state can stay neutral and demilitarized for a few years. However, after a few years a politician will come and say we must change this, we need a large army to support our policy." For this reason, he has reservations against this idea. A neutralization may have been possible in 1945, when Germany was not independent but under the control of the Allies. "Today this is not possible."

Asked what the FRG can do for Poland, the foreign minister replied: "It is always possible for a rich country to do more. However, I find our agreements favorable for Poland. The FRG has done a great deal in this respect. It granted us a jumbo credit, for example. The FRG was the first country to cancel our large debt. One must bear that in mind. One must say that." The German contribution to the stabilization fund for Poland is also important. Compared to the U.S. contribution, the German contribution is a credit, which, however, has been granted at very favorable conditions. Warsaw prefers this to donations. "I discussed this with Finance Minister Waigel. I understand his arguments, and you can also write that I would be pleased if Mr. Waigel would come to Poland one day."

Skubiszewski also stated that the issue of reparation payments to former forced labor convicts and inmates of the concentration camps has not yet been settled. He is familiar with the legal difficulties and therefore wants a

pragmatic solution. He proposes the establishment of a foundation either in Germany or in Poland that should raise money and then pay it to the victims.

"I assure you readers that it is not money that we want. Of course, one needs money to pay reparations. However, what I want is to settle the problem, because it disturbs our relations at the human level, and this is a very important level," the minister stressed. He also discussed this issue with officials in Bonn who assured him that the problem is being studied by the German side.

Further Reportage

WA0702184590

For reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski to the Federal Republic of Germany, including reports on his talks with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, please see the Federal Republic of Germany section of the 6 February West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Mazowiecki's European Parliament Speech

AU0602141990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Feb 90 p 7

[Speech by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at the European Parliament in Brussels on 1 February]

[Text] Ladies and Gentlemen! As a result of the tremendous transformations which have already happened and are still taking place to the east of the River Elbe. The nations of this whole immense region have regained, or are in the process of regaining, the right to arrange their countries according to their own free will. The gift of freedom, the precious gift that Western Europe has enjoyed for a long time now, is returning to us.

We did not get this gift by pure chance, but had to fight for it through decades of protest against the reality which surrounded us, a reality which deprived man of the dignified term of citizen by turning him into a subject of totalitarian rule. That state of things is passing away into European history as one of its worst chapters.

It is also passing away thanks to the bold reformative transformations taking place in the Soviet Union that were initiated and painstakingly continued by the Soviet leadership under Mikhail Gorbachev.

We have regained our freedom and we are aware of the obligations that come with trying to maintain it. We, in Central Europe, especially we Poles, know that one does not get the gift of freedom once and for all. That is why I personally, and the government that I head, have set ourselves the task of creating a sure and lasting political foundation for the newly regained Polish freedom.

In less than five months, we have implemented many changes and started many more in order to form the institutional and legal framework needed in Poland for political democracy and a freedom of growth movement for our citizens' society.

The leading role of the Communist Party has been eliminated and its organizational structures are leaving the workplaces and public institutions. We have restored independence to the judiciary, given freedom to the press, and restored the freedom of political association. In a short time, we shall have free elections to local government bodies, and these will take over regional administration. We are currently working on reforming the state administration, and creating a new Constitution.

Over the last few decades, Poland has been the most unsettled point in the eastern part of our continent, and the events that occurred in Poland aroused fears in the West that they could destabilize the whole of Europe. Today my country is an oasis of calm, but not of immobility. The opinion that Poland is lagging behind the other countries of the region, in its march toward democracy, an opinion that one sometimes encounters, can only stem from shallow observation or an attachment to spectacular effects. We are not racing anybody on the road to democracy and are making our own way, and proceeding at the pace we consider appropriate. The Polish Government, in close cooperation with Parliament, and in agreement with the president of the Polish Republic, is striving to create the solid foundations of a state that is subject to the rule of law and which complies with the consequences that flow from this fact. While we are preparing to make changes to the law, we continue to abide by the legislation that is in force. Above all, we have tried to avoid the temptation of rapid results, which might put the government in conflict with the requirements of political culture, which we consider an important bulwark of democracy. That is why we have chosen the road of evolution, a road that does not divide society, but brings it together; a road that prevents social turmoil, but at the same time does not hinder its democratic transformations.

Ladies and Gentlemen! Freedom not only needs democratic institutions, which we are creating, it also needs a healthy economy. On 1 January we embarked upon a very difficult economic program, which has been provisionally approved by the IMF.

This is not an ordinary stabilization program, although it is aimed at stabilizing our economy. It is not a simple anti-inflation antidote, similar to the ones that have been applied throughout the world, although it has as its aim the elimination of inflation. The most important and pioneering aim of our program is to fully expose to the rules of the market place an economy which for nearly half a century was centrally managed by the state. We are the first to make the attempt, and to do it in a comprehensive and reasonably fast way.

For four weeks now, Poles have been shouldering the great burdens of economic restructuring with an understanding and patience that deserve the highest respect. Among these burdens is a significant drop in real wages, the possibility of unemployment, and great difficulties in balancing household budgets.

Behind this patience there lies the determination of Polish society to leave as far behind as possible the forms of economic management that proved to be a dead-end street, and to return to a normal economy, an economy based on the immense rationalizing and marshalling role of market forces. This means millions of freely taken decisions made by the producer, consumer, the worker, and the state. We are striving for an economy based on the types of ownership present in the countries of the European Community, and for a similar economic role to be played by the state.

We are not aiming for 19th-century capitalism, but for a modern European market economy, namely, a social market economy. We will be seeking to implement its Polish variant, not forgetting all those people who might not be able to meet the rigorous conditions set by the market. The program implemented by us contains such protective measures as we are able to include. As our economy improves, we shall build in further such measures.

Some four weeks after the very strong shock that our economy experienced, as a result of the decisions taken at the beginning of the year, it still remains in a destabilized state. Temporary processes, as well as the more lasting ones, at present very difficult to separate, have been set in motion. We do not have a lot of information to go on, because it is too early, but the government is closely following what is happening and is ready to step in if the course of events exceeds acceptable parameters. For the time being, however, nothing indicates that this has become necessary. It is true that retail prices in January rose by more than we had envisaged, but in the last 10 days their growth rate has fallen very considerably, and there is the increasing frequency of economic organizations lowering their prices. Supplies to stores have improved and the queues have disappeared.

The balance in the budget and the credit supply is being maintained. There is no threat to the exchange rate of the zloty, there is evidence that the economy is becoming less and less reliant on the U.S dollar, and hard currency reserves have slightly increased. The supply of job vacancies has fallen drastically, although no mass labor shedding has been noted.

The financial situation of many enterprises is difficult, although as yet there have been no bankruptcies.

We are observing a change in the behavior of many enterprises, which upon meeting the barrier of demand, are seeking to make savings internally. At the same time, we have many signs indicating that production and turnover are being cut back. The same is happening in our agriculture. These signs are being closely analyzed by us. It is not our aim to stifle production by uncalled for state interference. Possible state intervention will only happen after sufficient analysis of these phenomena and in close consultation with the IMF. We feel that we are in full control of the economic situation.

Ladies and Gentlemen! In the task of political and economic restructuring, we are accompanied by your kindness and assistance. We thank the community for its contribution to the fund for stabilizing the zloty, for the pledged credits, and for the assistance in aiding the restructuring of our economy. We thank you for the food aid, for the valuable initiative in setting up a Polish-European Bank and a European Bank for Construction Development, for the help of your specialists, and for the large presence of the representatives of West European firms. We thank you for all this, and I would like to say that we regard this assistance, support, and presence as an obligation on our part to succeed.

Today when we are implementing a difficult program and preparing further deep transformations of the economic system, we are being guided by the desire to turn the Polish economy, in the long-term, into an efficient tool for creating national wealth and a healthy component of international trade. We want to be able to sell a lot in order to be able to buy a lot and to be a good customer.

Our foreign debt is a big stumbling block on this way. Its current size and the mechanisms for servicing it place and will continue to place a heavy burden on us for years, stifling our economic growth and perhaps leading to social tensions. This threat is particularly great now when austere financial limitations may cause a fall in production and produce a surge of social dissatisfaction. It is very important to fully free Poland this year from the burden of having to repay installments and interest on the debt. What is important is not only to have a temporary break within the framework of the present ways of easing debt burdens, but also to have innovative and bold steps leading to a significant capital reduction of the debt itself.

We understand that this will not be easy, but one could advance several arguments which would lend support to efforts to find and apply such new solutions.

The first and foremost argument is that this would help us to turn nearly 40 million Polish consumers into a healthy and absorptive market for the products of the developed West, thus boosting your employment and profits. This will be much more difficult or simply impossible if Poland's economic growth is stifled by the burden of repaying that tremendous debt.

The second argument concerns the scale and the unprecedented nature of the undertaking we are pursuing. Many countries are trying to restore their economies, but we are doing much more. We are returning to a market economy after nearly 50 years of real socialism. The success of our experiment will be a test for others, perhaps also for the Soviet Union. All those people who

wish closer fusion within our continent must know that this will only take place when our economies draw nearer to each other.

There is no other group of people who understand this truth better than yourselves.

There is also the argument dealing with justice. The greatest part of our debt consists of interest, which we were unable to pay. We were not able to pay it, because the interest rates were high and not infrequently influenced by disturbances brought about by the imprudent economic policies pursued by the big countries of the West.

We were also unable to repay, because our predecessors from the 1970's were often granted credits recklessly and without too much thought being given by the lender to how these would be used, and frequently in the naive belief that our Eastern neighbor would pay these off for us. Is it just that impoverished Poland should also have to pay for the mistakes of others?

In three years your countries will form a great market in which people, goods, and capital will flow freely. Signing the European Act, which initiated this important undertaking, you did not realize that it would come to fruition in a Europe different from that which has existed for the last 45 years. The Europe emerging from the historic transformations that took place last year and that still continue can be safer and more cohesive if we make the effort to move toward each other. Poland is in favor of making this effort; an effort that is thought through and agreed on; an effort that would take into account the interests and security of everyone; and an effort that would not exclude anyone. We are interested in initiating at the appropriate time the procedure for associating Poland with the EC, while respecting our ties with other Central European countries, including the Soviet Union.

We also think that in the new situation there is a need for new structures which could set the framework for analysis and action aimed at pluralistic unity on our continent. The ideas of a Common European Home or European Confederation, recently referred to by statesmen from different countries, should ripen and take shape. A European cooperation council, comprising all countries and groupings of our continent, would serve this end. It would be a great honor and obligation for Poland, lying in the heart of Europe, to host the seeds of our unity.

I would like to wish us all the ability to interpret, in the appropriate way, and grasp the political and economical challenges that now confront us, for our common good. Thank you.

Constitution Committee Meets; Geremek Speaks

LD0602230490 Warsaw PAP in English 2158 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 6—The Sejm Constitution Committee started its work here today, on the first anniversary of the inauguration of the round table talks.

Opening the inaugural meeting, the committee's chairman Bronislaw Geremek (Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group) said that the round table debates proved that there are limits to a compromise.

A new constitution must meet the aspirations and wishes of the whole society. Assumptions of the Constitution will be put to a broad public debate in which opinions of Poles living abroad and of socio-political forces that do not have their parliamentary representation should not be missing, Geremek stated.

The reason for amending the Constitution is not the fact that it has been in force for 38 years, Professor Janina Zakrzewska pointed out in the inaugural report. The reason is the Constitution's content, alien to Polish society.

According to other participants in the discussion, the Constitution's content should include, among other things:

- Fundamental principles for the approach of state organs, especially administration ones, towards citizens.

- Guarantees for the implementation of the natural and inalienbale human rights.

- Principles of the socio-economic system.

- Principles of the legal order consistent with international solutions.

- Procedure of electing representative organs.

Subcommittees, appointed especially for the purpose, will work out basic assumptions of the new constitution.

Poland Sets Up First Commercial TV Channel

AU0802093090 Paris AFP in English 0900 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 8 (AFP)—The first privately-run Polish commercial television channel was inaugurated this week and has begun broadcasting in Wroclaw, the owners said Thursday.

TV-Echo broadcasts four hours of programms each day for viewers in and around the city in south western Poland, director Henryk Pacha said.

He said the channel was owned by eight shareholders, who included journalists, engineers and businessmen and "for the time being" had a technical and production staff of 12.

Mr. Pacha said the staff hoped to produce most of their programms themselves. Shareholders were hoping to finance TV-Echo entirely from advertising revenue.

Defense Budget Allocations Examined

PM2501115090 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 16 Dec 89 p 3

[Wojciech Markiewicz article: "A Kilogram of Tank, or the National Defense Ministry Budget"]

[Text] Until recently anyone could, paradoxically, find out more about the Polish Army from the Western press than from our own, domestic press. Virtually everything was a secret, and if we were to judge from the numerous publications, or radio and television programs, the Army has concentrated solely on carrying out exercises, receiving instruction, attending gala swearing-in ceremonies, engaging in army ensemble singing, carrying out guard duties, offering assistance at harvest time, and working in support of the state economy—which, of course, brought the latter huge benefits. The absence of real information created an inevitable data deficiency and resulted in frequent discrepancies in the quoted figures concerning the numerical strength of our Armed Forces and the equipment at their disposal. Because we remained silent, the world concluded that we had a disproportionately large army—third largest in Europe, no less—commanding an excess of armaments.

These allegations were denied by Deputy Minister for National Defense General Jozef Uzycki, on the pages of TRYBUNA LUDU of 17 November 1989. However, the discussion on the subject of reforms in the Armed Forces and reductions of its numerical strength and expenditure began even earlier, in the Sejm, when, seeking to rescue the collapsing state budget, deputies and senators began, among other things, to point to the national defense sector as a possible source of economies, and to recommend cuts in the National Defense Ministry [MON] budget.

Billions Grow as Percentages Decrease

So how much does it cost us, the taxpayers, to keep the Armed Forces? How many soldiers serve in them and how many civilians work for them? How much do they earn and what privileges are they entitled to? Are the Armed Forces not overequipped in view of today's international situation, and is society not forced to carry an excessive burden in financing too high a proportion of that overequipment? How much would a professional army cost the taxpayer? Given the three-figure inflation, is a reduction in expenditure at all possible?

At the beginning of the year the parliamentary state budget act allocated to the MON the sum of 1,007 billion Polish Zloty [Z]. Soon afterward, however, it became obvious that, owing to inflation, that amount would be insufficient. In October, after the act was accordingly amended, the MON budget amounted to almost Z1,982 billion. These inflationary rises reflect, for example, the costs of feeding national servicemen. In January the so-called basic daily "z" ration amounted to Z440. By mid-October, having been increased on three occasions, it reached Z2,972, and by early November it rose to Z4,050 (while the ration for servicemen in training was Z5,580). The costs of the provision of uniforms, medical treatment, quartering, and transport had also gone up, albeit less. But if we look at the percentage share of MON expenditure in the state budget over the last 3 years (see Box 1), the curve has gone down by nearly 3 percent.

Box 1. MON BUDGET IN BILLION ZLOTYS

Polish Army General Staff data

	1970	1980	1982	1987	1988	1989
Projected MON budget expenditure	35.4	70.4	193.4	453.9	545.8	1,981.9*
	Actual budget expenditure:					
by MON	35.7	71.6	186.3	506.0	767.6	—
by the state	379.3	1,246.3	2,434.2	5,973.2	10,001.3	34,954.1*
MON's percentage share in state budget expenditure	9.7	5.7	7.6	8.5	7.7	5.7

* After the October 1989 amendments to the Budget Act

A study of the table will reveal one rather astonishing entry. In 1982, a year of martial law—that is, a period of intensified military activity—and of drastic price increases imposed in February, the expenditure was lower than planned by more than Z7 billion.

Unrecorded Expenditure

Thus, this year we will have spent nearly Z2 trillion on the national defense sector. But it is doubtful whether this figure indeed reflects the true costs borne by the state in maintaining the sector—just as was the case with the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW] budget, which I discussed in issue 36 of POLITYKA. Enterprises whose production is designated for the Army enjoy 50-percent "special production" tax reductions. Apart from this, the sector buys many products at lower prices than those paid by other customers. For example, the Army purchases Star trucks directly from the factory with a 30-percent discount. This reduces the profits of both the factory and the state, thereby constituting another unrecorded item of budget expenditure.

However, the Ministry of Industry Special Production Department informs me that the 50-percent reduction on tax on enterprise revenue is no longer applicable, although such a provision was indeed written into the first edition of the regulations concerning the status of defense industry enterprises. But since last February the new, third edition has been in force, which grants defense industry enterprises tax concessions on assets held and a 5-percent tax reduction on the value of special production sales. A 50-percent relief entitlement on the State Labor Incentives Fund [PFAZ] has also been withdrawn. The priority status with regard to the supply of raw materials, fuels, and power will be withdrawn next year.

Discounts on purchased goods were never true discounts. Prices of military goods are approved by the Armaments Pricing Commission [KCU], which ensures that the costs of wastage and mismanagement are not included in the price and and that the price is not dictated by a monopoly holder. A Star truck sold 30 percent cheaper is a vehicle sold at a realistic price with a decent profit.

Special production for the Army is losing its attraction for enterprises—well, perhaps with the exception of export production. For example, 1 kg of tank sold abroad is worth $33, 1 kg of artillery $36, and 1 kg of missile $228. By comparison, 1 kg of Polonez automobile is worth $1.75. But what if we were to remove all the electronics from the tank? How much would 1 kg be worth then?

Our forces have been ordering less and less equipment. There is no money, and all prices just keep going up. For example, an An-2 aircraft costs Z60.7 million, while an An-28 costs as much as Z595 million. A T 72 tank costs Z278 million. A large warship costs Z10.2 billion, and a small one Z120 million. A guided anti-tank missile costs Z1.6 million. Depending on its type and standard of equipment, an APC costs from Z37 million to Z129 million, and an AKMS assault rifle costs Z71,500. That was last year's price, since at the present time there is no demand.

But let us go back to the unrecorded expenditure. According to a 1960 act which states that servicemen are not employees as defined in the Labor Code, they do not pay Social Insurance Agency [ZUS] insurance contributions, unlike other employees of the budget-financed sector. Servicemen's contributions are paid from the state budget as a subsidy to the ZUS old-age pensions fund, and in this way they do not constitute a burden on the MON budget. Servicemen also receive an earlier old-age pension, equal to 100 percent pre-retirement pay, which includes basic pay, supplements, and so-called uniform allowance.

Another unrecorded item of state budget expenditure is the financing of the sector's housing construction. This year, in accordance with the 30 December 1988 Council of Ministers Resolution, the sum of Z37.3 billion has been allocated for this purpose outside the MON budget. But since this amount is not index-linked and there are 11,000 professional soldiers on the housing waiting list, the National Defense Minister has provided an additional Z32 billion from the sector's budget.

An additional source of the sector's revenues is the work in the national economy carried out by national servicemen. This year soldiers from operational units have worked 817,000 man-days in land recultivation and reclamation, modernization of railroad and telecommunications lines, as well as grain harvesting and potato lifting. For instance, the agriculture sector has paid the MON Z325 million (25 percent' worth of true labor costs) for the work carried out by soldiers and reimbursed the costs of the use of the forces' equipment and machinery. Telecommunications paid servicemen according to daily maintenance costs: Z4,750 per day until August and Z8,650 thereafter. In the future all work of this kind will be carried out by Civil Defense Detachments.

Europe's Seventh Army

At the beginning of the year our Armed Forces were 347,000 men strong, which placed us in seventh position in Europe, after the USSR (2,485,000), Turkey (654,000), France (547,000), the FRG (488,000), Italy (388,000), and the U.S. forces in Europe (380,000), but ahead of Spain (325,000) and Britain (319,000). The international situation and the need for budget cuts have been responsible for the decision to reduce the forces by 33,000 men by the end of the year. But until that happens, the existing data remain valid.

At the beginning of the year there were 234,144 men doing their national service and 112,656 professional soldiers, which—when rounded up—gave the figure of 347,000. But this figure does not include the 116,000 civilian employees who work in the forces and for the forces and who are paid from the MON budget. They are

remunerated in accordance with the principles applicable to the national economy as a whole, but are additionally entitled to a supplement of up to Z12,000 per month on account of special working conditions in the sector. In the fourth quarter of 1988 the average monthly pay of a civilian employee will amount to approximately Z346,000.

Nor do the statistics include the group of over 23,000 soldiers serving in the Border Protection Troops or the Vistula Troops, as these come under the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The armament of the seventh largest army in Europe (ninth in a few weeks' time) is much more modest than its numerical strength. As regards the numbers of tanks, aircraft, warships, and helicopters that the Armed Forces command, we only qualify for somewhere between tenth and twentieth place. This year the expenditure on arms purchases has been cut by Z50 billion, including Z37 billion on arms imports, whereas renovation projects and the majority of investment projects have been cancelled. Compared with 1986, when 34 percent of the MON budget was allocated for the purchase of weapons and technical equipment, 23 percent for training and operational costs, and 7 percent for investment projects, this year the respective figures are 24, 18, and 2 percent. As much as 56 percent of the budget funds had to be allocated to feeding, health care, and remuneration of the servicemen.

In that case perhaps a professional army would be a better bet? A better trained army which would, consequently, be less numerous and therefore cheaper? I am told at the Ministry that in order to do that we would need to spend approximately an additional one-half billion dollars a year. We are talking in terms of dollars because these are the calculations of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). There it has been calculated that with permanent subsidies there would have to be a radical increase in wages, accompanied by a reduction in expenditure on the purchase of weapons and more modern equipment. And this would lead to a regression in the development of our armed services.

How Much Does A Soldier Cost?

On 1 November the average annual cost of maintaining one of our 234,000 national servicemen was as follows:

food Z1,518,000

uniform Z 521,000

medical care Z 27,000

quartering Z 478,000

transportation of supplies Z 29,000

On top of that, every national serviceman receives an average monthly pay of Z28,973.

A dress uniform costs Z127,800; fatigues, Z82,600; a cloth greatcoat, Z145,000; pair of field boots, Z61,000; everyday cap, Z11,550; service shirt, Z14,200; pair of socks, Z9,600; belt, Z12,150; parade aiguillette, Z16,600.

In view of the specific and strenuous nature of the job, which involves irregular hours, on-call availability, frequent separations from the family, and no possibility of taking up additional jobs, the professional soldiers' salaries in every army are higher than the average remuneration in the economy. In Warsaw Treaty armies it is some 40-70 percent higher; in the FRG it is 40 percent higher. In Poland the factor of 1.3 is assumed. In reality this is seldom achieved—and then only over short periods of time.

Since 1 December the average salary, including the food allowance payable since 1 November, amounting to Z121,500, comes to Z540,000, inclusive of the index-linked compensation applicable since 1 October. In industry, as I have been told at the MON, the average monthly pay in December is Z550,000.

Below are some examples of monthly salaries paid. I was told at the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy that these salaries include all allowances except for the uniform allowance, which is paid annually and comes to some Z18,000 per month—higher in the case of the 156 Polish generals because of the larger amount of hand-applied braiding required for their uniforms:

The National Defense Minister—salary drawn from the Office of the Council of Ministers;

General [General Broni], after 35 years' service—Z1,466,000;

Military district commander in the rank of lieutenant-general, after 35 years' service—Z1,426,000;

Division commander in the rank of major-general [general brygady], after 26 years' service—Z1,011,500;

Regiment commander in the rank of lieutenant-colonel, after 23 years' service—Z779,000;

Battalion commander in the rank of captain, after 11 years' service—Z592,700;

Company commander in the rank of lieutenant, 8 years' service—Z544,500;

Platoon commander in the rank of second lieutenant, after 4 years' service—Z491,300;

Platoon sergeant (the lowest posting), after 2 years' service—Z395,500.

For the sake of comparison I note that a voivoda, or the Mayor of Warsaw, earns up to Z1,212,000 and a director of a large industrial enterprise earns about Z1,500,000; furthermore, they have the all-important opportunity to travel abroad and make savings [in hard currency] on their travel allowances—not to mention my informants'

intelligence concerning the earnings of some company directors, which range from several to a dozen or so million Zlotys per month.

Privileges

Apart from the aforementioned entitlement to old age pensions equal to 100 percent pre-retirement earnings, under existing legislation professional soldiers are entitled to a service apartment. However, according to the authors of the study, "Social Welfare Matters in the Forces," the average waiting period for an apartment allocation is 2-3 years, and in some garrisons even as long as 5 years.

Soldiers are also entitled to use the sector's health service and receive free medicines for themselves and their families. According to the authors of the study, the fact that the average sick leave among professional soldiers comes to 9 days a year, whereas among non-military employees it is 19 days, demonstrates the effectiveness of the sector's preventive medicine system. Servicemen have been entitled to free medicines since 1920. Once a year, during the high season, a serviceman is entitled to subsidized—that is, virtually free—holidays. The charge for these is equivalent to the amount received as food allowance. From 1990 servicemen will be entitled to reduced-rate holidays once every 2 years. Family members are charged 25 percent of the full cost, which at the moment, in the winter season, is calculated at Z385,000.

Professional soldiers and members of their families are also entitled to 50-percent reductions on railroad and State Motor Transport [PKS] bus charges, as well as once-yearly free tickets to a destination of their choice and also free fares on travel connected with medical treatment and house moving.

According to the July 1988 Armed Forces Quartering Act, a professional soldier and his family are also entitled to a so-called house repairs and maintenance allowance. He can receive this in kind, as the Forces administration will carry out the necessary repairs and renovations, or in cash. In 1988 every family member was entitled to one so-called "unit entitlement" (two in the case of senior officers), equivalent to Z13,000-16,000. Once every 5 years a professional soldier is also entitled to one house redecoration allowance unit worth Z38,000, which, again, he can claim in cash or in actual work carried out.

A professional soldier can also join the Defense Studies Society, which is subsidized from the MON budget to the tune of Z70 million, or any of the military sports clubs, subsidized likewise to the tune of Z3.5 billion. And when he retires, he can join the Union of Former Professional Soldiers, financed to the tune of Z160 million.

Straight From Bygone Eras

At the beginning of the current academic year students organized a boycott of the compulsory military training courses. The Independent Union of Students [NZS] demands radical rather than "facelifting" changes in students' military training schemes, while the sector declares its readiness to discuss the possible reforms but stresses that it must comply with the relevant parliamentary act, and the Ministry of National Education, in turn, is ready to mediate in the talks. And the students themselves simply dislike military training. Why? They complain about the lack of contact with the lecturers and the compulsory military service duty for postgraduates, which they regard as a waste of time. They find the military service routine irritating, especially as in many garrisons it continues even today as if no changes have happened in Poland during the past months. They intensely dislike the military drill, the frequently primitive sense of humor, the propagandist slogans straight from long bygone eras, the paltry rhymes of army songs, the Kolobrzeg festival [of army songs], the pomp, the mindless routines, the marching, the forced marches, the parades, and the monotony of the "Masks On!—Masks Off!"-type commands.

Therefore, whenever I hear about restructuring the Army—incidentally, the word has by now become quite devalued since we bungled the restructuring of the economy some years ago—and read about the need to "optimize the intrasectorial rationalization and economization campaign," or whenever I come across the information that the expenditure allocated to promote culture and education in the Army represents 0.52 percent of the MON budget, I begin to wonder whether, quite apart from all these perfectly rationalized and justified savings, cuts, and reductions which have been implemented throughout the sector, someone there has not overlooked the fact that this is, actually, the end of the year 1989.

	Box 2.				
	WHO HAS WHAT				
	POLAND	GDR	FRG	FRANCE	BRITAIN
Tanks	3,330	3,140	4,900	3,190	2,000
APCs	4,855	5,900	6,840	4,520	5,480
Rocket launchers, artillery pieces, and mortars	3,065	2,435	3,190	8,510	3,320
Aircraft	480	307	850	880	835
Helicopters	43	74	450	700	700
Tactical missiles	81	80	26	36	12
Submarines	3	-	-	17	28
Data according to the 30 January 1989					
Statement by the Committee of Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty Member States.					

Report on NSF Statute Issued 6 Feb

AU0602225790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1954 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Statute of the National Salvation Front of Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 06/02/1990—The document released today, February 6, in Bucharest, mentions that the National Salvation Front [NSF], a result of the popular revolution of December 1989, rallies the country's patriotic and democratic forces of the country to the end of establishing and protecting democracy, freedom and dignity of the Romanian people, of raising the general quality of life in Romania.

The National Salvation Front rallies citizens irrespective of nationality, race, sex, religion or level of instruction, political formations and public organizations into a largely democratic movement in view of attaining the targets pursued.

The NSF, the statute further shows, works for the building of a democratic society in Romania relying upon: political pluralism, separation of the power in state, secured human freedom and dignity, guaranteed inviolability and inalienability of human rights, observance of the national minorities' rights and freedoms, guaranteed free expression of religious beliefs, the building of the de jure social state, the creation of a modern national economy—relying upon various forms of ownership—and its operation upon the criteria of profitability and efficiency, individual and collective enterprise; the restructuring of agriculture and the assignment of land for use or ownership to peasants and other categories as well as state support to peasant farmsteads and their associations and to state enterprises as large producer farming units working with modern equipment and technologies, the promotion of a humanist and democratic ideology and the organization of the whole culture based on the national specific and the great traditions of world culture, the promotion of an independent foreign policy based on the fundamental principles of international law, inspired by the ideas of international peace, security and collaboration.

The organizational structure of the National Salvation Front is established upon territorial bases.

As for the membership, the document shows the National Salvation Front has two categories of members: individual and collective. Romanian citizens, political groups as well as public organizations adhering to the Front's program and contributing to its implementation can be members of the National Salvation Front.

The Romanian citizens who after December 22, 1989 were sentenced for offences against the popular revolution or for other very grave offences stipulated in the law, as well as the persons who are morally and politically discredited for having served the dictatorship, may not be members of the National Salvation Front.

Referring to the organizational structure, the document mentions: Territorial organizations are set up at a locality level (village, commune, town, city, sector of Bucharest City) in keeping with the delimitation of the constituencies.

The territorial organization is made up of individual members, the political groupings and civic organizations that adhere to the Front with headquarters in the respective localities.

At an all-country level, the conference of the National Salvation Front made up of representatives of territorial organizations according to the rules established by the steering collegium is called once a year.

The steering collegium of the National Salvation Front is made up of president, two vice-presidents, coordinating secretary and 25 members.

The last chapter shows that the financial means of the National Salvation Front are derived from fees, affiliation taxes, donations in compliance with legal terms as well as any other legal sources.

The headquarters of the National Salvation Front is in Bucharest city, No. 5 Ilie Pintilie Boulevard, Sector 1.

Roman Interviewed on 6 Feb Government Meeting

AU0602225090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2018 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by Doru Ionescu in Bucharest on 6 February]

[Text] This afternoon a government meeting was held in the Palace of Victory Square. At the end of the meeting, Prime Minister Petre Roman, who chaired the meeting, gave the following exclusive interview to our correspondent, Doru Ionescu:

[Begin recording] [Ionescu] Prime Minister Petre Roman, please be so kind as to inform our listeners about the issues of today's government meeting. We could note that broad categories of our country's people are interested in many of the issues that have been discussed.

[Roman] The announced agenda included a presentation of the results achieved in January and the program for February and March, discussions of the government's draft economic program, and discussions of some specific issues regarding the stimulation of technical creativity aimed at solving some concrete technical problems in enterprises and the way in which we should direct our research-design activity in the specific institutions within the ministries.

The first point on the agenda revealed that we have achieved pretty good results in January, and this allowed us to ensure the salaries of a broad category of working people. However, we have to stress that in February and

March, the process of paying salaries—according to the opinion of all government members—should be directly linked with achievement.

Certainly on this occasion a great number of unfulfilled tasks have also been mentioned, for which there are causes that cannot be immediately eliminated. The economic situation of the country's industrial structure continues to be very difficult because it cannot change in such a short period. The essential problem for the economy continues to be ensuring its functioning and stability. This requires the conscientious engagement of each worker in order to ensure a production level that will allow us to place the whole Romanian economy in a better position.

Furthermore, we discussed some issues that are included in the platform and the economic program of the government. These issues are still in the process of examination. The ministries expressed a number of viewpoints. This program continues to be a concern of the government, which should define its options because, as a matter of fact, nothing that we are doing now can be by chance, and nothing that we are doing now can be simple imagining of some problems that have not been solved so far. There must be cohesion based on a program and on an economic platform.

[Ionescu] The public is interested in knowing the current and long-term prospects of the government, the platform, the statute, and the economic program of the government.

[Roman] However, I will not allow myself to respond to this as long as they are not completely in the final stage, which nevertheless reflects the broad options of the experts, both in the economy and in various economic branches, in connection with the ways in which our hyper-centralized and distorted economy that we inherited moves toward liberalized economic—with well-defined market economy—mechanisms.

[Ionescu] People are even talking about an attempt to eliminate the industrial gigantism, the results of which our whole economy suffers.

[Roman] This is true. One of the first ideas we advanced within the government was to make enterprises autonomous. Slowly, slowly, this idea is taking shape, and today several ministers have already said that it is possible to divide many big enterprises into smaller enterprises so that they can have an individuality, because it is evident that such a gigantism has diminished the productive and creative personality of the collectives in these enterprises.

On the other hand, a very important issue that we have discussed today is how to stimulate technical creativity in enterprises. We decided that each ministry should present, in an individual way, two directions of action: The first one should refer to the setting up of a fund or ways for material incentives, maybe through competition, in order to solve some topical technical problems. This means that anybody can take part in this process of solving problems if he believes that he is competent in these issues. Then he can be rewarded in one way or another, because we are not rigid regarding ways to reward such achievement. The second direction regards the way in which a whole series of installations in enterprises should be revised, partially or completely. We stress that in this area we need greater efforts and institutions and collectives of execution and design in ministries which are in charge of this issue. [end recording]

We also inform you that during today's meeting, the government decided—at the justified request of the Romanian Academy—to give the House of Scientists back to the High Scientific Forum of the country. We must mention that during the Ceausescu dictatorship the House of Scientists was turned into a restaurant. Disagreeing with this decision, the minister of tourism, Mihai Lupoi, qualified this decision as a dictatorial method of solving problems and he presented his resignation from the government. His resignation was accepted by the government plenum.

ROMANIA LIBERA on NSF Participation

AU0702084690 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 1 Feb 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "ROMANIA LIBERA Clarification"

[Text] ROMANIA LIBERA newspaper affirms the natural right of the National Salvation Front to participate in the elections in any form it wishes, whether that be as a party, a coalition, or as independent candidates. However, it views it as a serious violation of democratic principles should the NSF continue to have absolute monopoly of power, once it has declared its candidacy. We view the Front's participation in the elections as fully justified, as long as it strictly respects the same conditions demanded by law from all political forces involved in the election. Therefore, we greet the National Salvation Front's pledge to sever political activities from state power as a first guarantee for a correct holding of the first elections on 20 May.

Faithful to the principle of "I do not agree with your opinion but I will fight to the end to ensure that you may have the right to express it," ROMANIA LIBERA will publish all views worthy of being known to the readers, even if they seem at variance with the position of the majority.

Steering Committee of ROMANIA LIBERA

Communist Party Said No Longer Necessary

AU0702223890 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 Jan 90 pp 1,3

[Eugen-Ioan Sava article: "Why There Should No Longer Be a Communist Party"]

[Excerpts] The Romanian Communist Party was set up on 8 May 1921, and immediately adhered to the Third Communist International (Comintern). [passage omitted on historical background]

On 23 August 1939, the signing of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Nonaggression Pact took place, a pact that paved the way for the expansionist desires of totalitarian states in Europe. Romania was one of the numerous victims of that pact and of that monstrous deal of dividing the continent. [passage omitted on historical events]

The war was not yet over when a messenger from Stalin arrived in our country, pounded on the table, and installed Dr. Petru Groza's government on 6 March 1945, a government supported with foreign bayonets. Then followed the sad remembrances of elections on 19 November 1946, elections in which the "front," in which the Communists participated, was declared the winner. Falsifying the election results, the Romanian Communist Party seized power and instituted the "proletarian dictatorship" and imposed the communist system, which is alien to Romanian aspirations, traditions, and humaneness. After the Communists came to power, a regime of terror was instituted. The political parties in Romania were dismantled, important political figures were arrested, and after staged trials, were sentenced to hard years in prison. Then the account settling and the struggle for power began within the Romanian Communist Party, including assassinations and executions after false accusations. A parallel army was formed—the Securitate [Intelligence Service]. Concentration camps were set up in which tens of thousands of intellectuals, opponents of the totalitarian regime, were confined. Farmers were dispossessed of their lands through forced collectivization; additional tens of thousands of farmers were thrown into prisons because they opposed this dispossession of land; billions of lei were spent to assist rebellious movements in various states in the name of "proletarian internationalism". People were starved in order to build Pharaoh-like projects, without any economic usefulness and efficiency. When the population, starved and tired of abuse, came out into the street to demand their rights, some rascals fired at the people. After behaving like the Nazis, the Romanian Communist Party is no longer entitled to speak for the Romanian people, whom it ridicule and exploited in a barbarous way. As a political party, the Romanian Communist Party is compromised, because, not being a democratic party, it was unable to stop careerists, thirsty for blood and grandeur, from coming to power. The fact that illiterates, individuals who did not love work and were not able to learn a trade, were put at the helm of a political party is to be blamed on the system of organization for that party, which is an internal affair. The fact, however, that the Romanian Communist Party became the leader of Romania and imposed state terrorism as its mode of leading, made the affair the concern of the whole Romanian people, because the consequences of that leadership system proved to be a catastrophe at all levels: moral, social, economic, and political.

Taking the above mentioned things into account, as a Romanian citizen who has, day by day, led the life of millions of workers of this land, without having to suffer specifically, I take the liberty of asking for the dismantling of the Romanian Communist Party for the following reasons:

—For acting from 1921-1944 as a political party led and financed from abroad, which struggled, like the iron guardists, against Romania's national interests and for the country's dismemberment;

—For seizing power through fraud and with the help of foreign armies, and for imposing an ideology which is alien to the Romanian people;

—For eliminating political parties with long-standing traditions in Romania's political arena and for arresting the leadership of those parties;

—For the forced collectivization of the peasantry and for ruining that social class;

—For the forced industrialization, irrational energy consumption, and for funds spent on the maintenance of truly inefficient industrial giants;

—For persecuting and restricting church activities and for demolishing churches, many of which were historic and architectural monuments;

—For arresting thousands of innocent people of all social classes and confining them to concentration camps set up for those opposing the communist regime;

—For starving the population, thus putting our nation's biological existence at jeopardy;

—For the bloody suppression of the demonstrations against the regime and the assassination, in cold blood, of thousands of innocent people who were demanding their right to a humane life;

—For acquiring tremendous assets, while the whole of the country actually paid tribute to this party.

Demanding the dismantling of the Romanian Communist Party, I only demand justice to be done to the thousands of terrorized, wronged, arrested, and killed people in the name of communist ideology.

The ordinary people, workers, peasants, intellectuals, and military who were members of the Romanian Communist Party have nothing to fear. Those who worked and lived honestly, even though they were part of the Romanian Communist Party, have to be treated as honest people.

Key Former Securitate Officer Commits Suicide

AU0702175490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1612 GMT 7 Febb 90

["The Incinerators"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/2/1990—A large number of former security and militia officers who were involved in stealing, hiding, transporting and destroying of at least 40 dead bodies, probably taken out of the morgue of the Timisoara City Hospital on the night of December 18—peaceful citizens who had been brutally killed on December 17 and 18, are now in the penitentiary of the martyr town of Timisoara where the revolution started. As we have previously announced, nine of those former officers could be seen on TV screens in Romania and other countries during a Free Romanian Television broadcast on the last day of January. Among them were Major General Emil Macri, head of the Economic Directorate of the Security Department and Lieutenant Colonel Gheorghe Atuporoaei, deputy security chief inspector.

Citizens in Romania—and not only them—have every reason to regret not having seen on their TV screens one of the inmates of the nine—former Colonel Petre Moraru, all the more so as he is not to be taken to court as he committed suicide while imprisoned. Newspaper "ROMANIA LIBERA," which reports the news in a post scriptum to a Timisoara dispatch, justifiably wonders: "How could he do that?" The dispatch in the quoted newspaper includes a number of incriminatory statements made by the former colonel, who was a key figure in the terrible action as he held an important position in the Economic and Transport Directorate and was also deputy chief of the General Militia Inspectorate, and who tried to put the blame on his senior officers from whom he said he had received expressed orders. "On December 18, in the evening," he said, "I got a call from Timisoara, from General Nuta, who told me that a truck carrying parcels from abroad was to arrive from Timisoara. The parcels were to be burned at the customs warehouses in Bucharest. And there were legal papers, too." It is common knowledge today that the respective parcels contained the dead bodies of the heroes of Timisoara, who disappeared into thin air. They were incinerated in the crematorium and their ashes were thrown into a running water sewer.

Obviously, the trial in Timisoara is expected to cast definitive light on all the episodes involving the movement and incineration of the bodies, with the guilty parties getting the punishment they deserve.

Constantinescu Appointed Ambassador to U.S.

AU0302133990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Through a decree issued by the National Salvation Front Council, Mr. Virgil Constantinescu has been appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Romania to the United States in lieu of Mr. Ion Stoichici, who has been recalled.

Single Exchange Rate for Convertible Currency

AU0602182690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1631 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/2/1990—According to a new regulation whereby a single exchange rate in lei for the convertible currencies received by the National Bank of Romania is set, as of February 1, 1990. The rate of exchange for any operations was set at one U.S. dollar equals 24 lei, instead of 8.74 lei in case of deposits in effective hard currency and 14.23 lei in case of the earnings of foreign trade enterprises, which were in force so far. This is a starting rate, the single rate of exchange of the dollar being modified weekly be the National Bank of Romania through the use of a hard-currency "basket" according to the fluctuations of the American currency in the world market. The single rates of exchange in lei for the other hard currencies are set weekly as well, by setting a ratio between the dollar's exchange rate in lei and the average exchange rate of the American currency as to those currencies in the market of the respective countries. The methods described herein are not to be applied in the case of the ruble and of the currencies of a number of countries with which bi- or multilateral conventions were concluded, which set the exchange-rate level.

This step does not affect the internal prices the population pays on imported goods, but it does encourage tourism. Furthermore, higher amounts in lei are offered to the Romanian citizens who wish to exchange their available hard currency from pensions, aid donations, legacies and other sources.

The passage to single exchange rates strikes a concordance with the provisions of the statute of the International Monetary Fund and contributes to the resumption of cooperation with that important financial body. The application of single exchange rates is a necessary prerequisite for the formation of a substantially improved price system in Romania.

Minister Reports 'Poor' Health Conditions

AU0502183390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1602 GMT 5 Feb 90

["Romanians' Health Condition: Poor"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/2/1990—The consequence of the accumulation, along the years, of factors with baleful influences on health (malnutrition, stress, cold, insufficient prophylactic measures, absurd laws promoting high birth rates) is the poor health condition of Romania's population, states Health Minister Dan Enachescu.

At present Romania has the highest infant death rate in Europe (children in the 1-3 year bracket), the highest death rate due to abortions, the highest death rate due to cardiovascular diseases in Europe, life expectancy stagnating and even slightly decreasing. In consideration of this situation a group of experts has been set up at the Ministry of Health meant to identify the main problems concerning the population's health condition. Among the measures already taken are the abrogation of the decree no. 770 on abortion, the granting of one-year paid maternity leave.

As for AIDS in Romania there are 70 cases and 400-500 sero-positives. Since some tests kits are imported this situation is not known exactly yet. Particularly high is the incidence of the HIV virus with children.

A department of preventive medicine has been set up within the Ministry of Health for infectious and chronical diseases which dominate the current pathology of the population in Romania, just as a mother and child protection department, and a medical and nursing staff department.

In another string of ideas the health minister showed that Romania had a sufficient number of physicians, with an excess of general practioners and a deficit of specialists, and a lack of over 15,000 medium-trained staff. To improve this situation contests are envisaged every year to promote values, while for the medium-trained staff the medical colleges are to be re-established.

ROMPRES Reports 'Defected' Citizens' Return

AU0802104690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0843 GMT 8 Feb 90

["Pro Patria—Romanians Are Coming Back Home"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/2/1990—Most of the Romanian citizens who defected in the past are now coming back home. They previously sent applications and right now they are arriving through all border crossing points were border guards welcome them and direct them to their places of residence.

In the last two years 17,000-18,000 so-called offenders tried to illegally cross Romania's borders. Ninety per cent of them did manage and they reached Yugoslavia and Hungary wherefrom they were to head for Western countries (West Germany, Canada, the U.S.A., Australia, etc.) most of them were 17-to-35 years of age. Among the people who wanted to leave the country in the past two years were also women, children and even elderly people.

* Goals of Hungarian Democratic Union in Romania

90EB0194A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 13 Jan 90 p 5

[Part two of interview with Domokos Geza, member of the National Salvation Front Council, chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Hungarian Democratic Union in Romania—date and place not given]

[ADEVARUL] Why was the real condition of national minorities in Romania under the Ceausescu dictatorship not known?

[Geza] Because, I repeat, we were never permitted to discuss this reality: about the systematic destruction of schools using the languages of the national minorities; the way cultural and artistic institutions were divested of their specific national character; the cancellation of regional television broadcasts and radio stations in minority languages; the fact that, in spite of constitutional provisions, it was forbidden to use mother tongues in political life, administration, and courts; the Hungarian, German, and Serbian languages were banned from use in press and publications; ethnic collections in museums and art galleries were drastically restricted, while documents and exhibits containing proof of the presence and life of national minorities were altogether taken out. This policy of restriction and forced denationalization created feelings of alienation and frustration among the national minorities, which in turn provided fertile ground for mistrust of the Romanian state and, although only in isolated cases but nontheless really dangerous, for national extremism.

[ADEVARUL] In some localities, such as Odorheiul Secuiesc, Cristuru Secuiesc, and Tirgu Secuiesc, in the first days of the revolution there were instances of violence and revenge against some representatives of the repressive bodies and against the local representatives of the policy of national oppression.

[Geza] I want to note from the very beginning that these incidents were not anti-Romanian, as they were presented by certain radio stations and foreign publications without verification. Such so-called 'well intentioned' reports, in the form in which they were presented, were clearly intended to create a climate of mistrust toward the new revolutionary leadership of the country, to pre-empt the historic process of genuine unification and friendship between the Romanian nation and Hungarians in Romania, and to undermine the friendly relations that are taking shape between Romania and Hungary. Such reports recently reached the National Salvation Front [NSF], too. These items of 'information' are spread by certain people who before the revolution held leading positions in government, education, culture, and economy, and now see their privileged status threatened and cannot bring themselves to give up the advantages offered by their positions as willing or unwilling tools of the dictatorship and of the policy of national homogenization. However, we must not forget that in every locality, in Timisoara and Bucharest, Sibiu and Cluj, Arad and Tirgu Mures, young and old Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, and other nationalities fought shoulder to shoulder on the barricades of the revolution and died together to achieve power. In the same way, on the basis of the NSF program, Romanians and Hungarians have been cooperating positively in the

struggle to preserve order, to ensure continuity in economic activities, transportation, and trade, and to establish new, democratic bodies. I want to mention that among the victims of vengeful attacks have been Hungarian members of the security and militia forces. Our Union of course disapproves of violence, vengeance, and personal account settling regardless by whom they are carried out, and is convinced that all such cases will be investigated and punished according to the law. At the same time, it is very important that both sides truthfully share information and show profound understanding for the motives that led to such situations. All of us must be impelled by a desire to eliminate the causes that brought about such situations. There is no doubt that this can be helped by the radical change of the entire concept concerning the structure and organization of local administration and cultural life, by restoring to mother tongues their due rights, and showing respect for national identities and individual and collective rights.

[ADEVARUL] What are the immediate objectives of the Union?

[Geza] Currently we are in a rapid process of establishing Union bodies in various counties, towns, and communes. I am positive that the newly elected bodies will be made up of individuals who won people's trust by their capabilities, moral behavior, and the manner in which they address the interests of our community and of the entire country. From the very beginning the new bodies will establish ties with local NSF bodies and other regional and national democratic organizations. The Union held its first meeting in Cluj on 7 January; another meeting of county representatives is scheduled for 13 January, when a statute and platform will be hammered out, which will feature topics for discussion, ideas, and programs concerning not only the life and prospects of the Hungarian minority, but of the entire Romanian citizenry. Thus, while resolutely preserving our national identity and our right to independently make decisions on specific issues, we want to be a part of the entire society and a responsible component of a dignified country endeavoring to return to its European roots. Together with other minority organizations, our Union intends to contribute to uniting all forces in the country, to resolving the great problems of economic restructuring, mapping out a new rural policy, protecting the environment, and restoring a healthy social climate. Although the word brotherhood has fallen into disrepute because of the Ceausescu propaganda, I think that we must all work to restore it to a new brilliance in keeping with the best traditions of all ethnic communities in reborn Romania."

[ADEVARUL] Drafts are being prepared for a new electoral law and constitution, and will be submitted for discussion, for genuine discussion by the entire nation. What does the Hungarian Democratic Union in Romania intend to do in this respect?

[Geza] We hope that the draft electoral law and constitution—which must rally a broad consensus, and which are being drafted, we are sure, by competent men of goodwill, including representatives of national minorities—will take into account the social and national realities of the country and use them as the foundation for the principles of genuine democracy, full equality among all the sons of the homeland, and individual and collective rights and freedoms. We hope that they will serve to consolidate and justify everybody's conviction that on the basis of these principles we will be able to build the future wanted and expected by the entire society, so long enslaved by the Ceausescu dictatorship.

Kosovo Declaration Offers 'Rare Hope'

AU0702221690 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 1 Feb 90 p 1

[Branimir Nesovic commentary from the "Topic of the Day" column: "People in Kosovo on the Brink of Despair"]

[Text] The situation in Kosovo is bad. Foreign journalists who have been in Lebanon and Romania say that they have not seen anything like it there. There, you at least knew where the shooting was, but here you never know what will hit you. You do not know which road is still passable and which is not. People get killed and people get wounded.

People are on the brink of despair, nerves are tense, the first signs of general panic are appearing. Everybody expects some kind of salvation. The majority of the Serbs and the Montenegrins see it in resolute measures that would suppress with force the Albanians' mass movement. This movement is perhaps at the brink of an armed rebellion.

People cannot understand why the authorities fail to react as they should. The Albanians, whose despair is no less, cannot understand that nobody accepts the dialogue offered by the new representatives of their community. It is obvious that they do not trust the old ones.

One sees that everything is sliding into an abyss. One of the rare hopes is tied to the Declaration For Democracy, Against Violence. There is some hope in that the collection of signatures to the declaration is allowed, which means that every single door to a sensible search for a solution at the last moment has not been slammed shut.

A solution with even greater force could bring a catastrophe and even the present Kosovo authorities seem to be aware of this.

Kosovo Alternative Movements Meet Press

AU0702224990 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 2 Feb 90 p 9

[A. Muhaxheri, B. Zogjani report: "An End to Violence and Demonstrations"]

[Text] The current political situation in Kosovo was discussed at a meeting between representatives of the Kosovo alternative movements and Yugoslav and foreign journalists in the office of the Pristina VJESNIK correspondent the evening before last at 2100. The meeting was led by Veton Surroi. He said that the meeting was called urgently; even though it had been planned for the following day, it had been decided to hold it as soon as possible because of the very difficult situation. Veton Surroi said that we have also decided to state our point of view because of this situation.

Among other things, it was said that the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative [AYDI] had asked several times for the creation of an independent commission to investigate certain incidents. The Pristina branch had supported the proposal that the commission should be under the aegis of the Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms because it is well known that the people who caused the incidents cannot shed light on them objectively.

What Is Terrorism in Kosovo?

After providing a great deal of information, the representatives of the Kosovo alternative movements answered many questions from Yugoslav and foreign journalists.

Matjaz Hanzek from LJUBLJANA asked what terrorism means in Kosovo.

According to Veton Surroi, many people who use this term still do not understand its meaning. The state has used it to justify what he called "its arsenal of repression, claiming that the measures it has taken were necessary, because public opinion is highly sensitive to signs of this international evil. However, it must be realized that writing or shouting slogans and throwing stones cannot be terrorism. Our journalists who use this term, including my colleague Vasic from the magazine NIN, would do well to look the word up in dictionaries." Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said, "They are trying in this way to disable our efforts to democratize society. How many Albanians have been shot and killed? They say that the Albanians are armed. I ask whom they are attacking. Has any Serb or militiaman been killed? Our state talks about democracy, but this is only state demagogy."

BBC correspondent Misha Glenny asked, "What reasons led you to call this meeting this evening, instead of tomorrow, as planned?"

Veton Surroi and Ibrahim Rugova both replied to this question, and said that something similar to what occurred last March could happen, when the Kosovo Writers Association, as a sign of protest against the repression, decided to hold a protest meeting every evening, but was prevented by the militia after a short time. Isuf Berisha agreed, saying that if the Albanian-language media had been allowed to carry our appeals against demonstrations, this tragedy would not have occurred. Veton Surroi added that so far 100,000 people had signed the declaration against violence, and 45,000 signatures had been collected in Pristina alone. This declaration represents a minimum for civilized dialogue to begin. This issue must be solved through dialogue between the state and the alternative movements, but the violence must be stopped first. We have come out against both state violence and demonstrations.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that the AYDI and the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [KDA] make up the whole of the Kosovo alternative movement and cooperate with each other, but that they could not agree with the country's Presidency, which demands that measures must be taken before discussions begin.

Is the AYDI in Contact With the State Authorities?

The BBC correspondent asked again whether there will be dialogue.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said in reply that we are ready, but wondered whether some forces in the state do not want dialogue.

One of the many questions was whether the AYDI is in contact with the state authorities.

Veton Surroi replied, saying that some contacts have been made, but that they are informal. According to him, the Federal Executive Council has accepted their program and supported the declaration they have issued. However, the authorities have still not said this officially. Jusuf Buxhovi, secretary to the Presidium of the KDA, said that this 150,000-member party is the largest in the country, but has still not been admitted to the dialogue.

Disa Hastad, a journalist from the Stockholm paper DAGENS NYHETER, asked: "After what has happened, are you afraid of being arrested?"

Veton Surroi said, "We are living through a time of crisis, but we are not afraid of being arrested, and this is evident from the work we are doing."

Pristina Television correspondent Zvonko Mladinovic asked, "Does this mean that you have the situation in hand?"

Veton Surroi said that if the situation were in our control, we would have prevented these demonstrations.

The Pristina Television correspondent then wanted to ask Dr. Ibrahim Rugova about the KDA's program, but the chair replied that the meeting was being held to discuss the situation, not party programs, and the correspondent should ask Ibrahim Rugova separately. Displeased with this reply, the correspondents of the Serbo-Croatian-language media of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and of Belgrade left the meeting.

Jim Fish, another BBC correspondent, asked, "Is this an attempt to detach Kosovo from Yugoslavia?"

Veton Surroi said, "No. This is a commitment to democracy."

The same correspondent then asked about the proposal for one year's civil administration in Kosovo, and Veton Surroi replied that every initiative must be carefully studied.

Many other questions were asked at the meeting.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Appeal to the United Nations

In connection with the most recent events in Kosovo and the course and consequences of the demonstrations in almost all parts of our province, the Pristina Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms released a communique at the news conference the evening before last, which was also attended by foreign journalists. The communique, in the form of an appeal, was also issued to the media.

The council's appeal was addressed to Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the United Nations Organization, and the UN Human Rights Committee in Geneva. The appeal states that the recent use of violence by the police forces in Kosovo has led to the number of human victims rising every moment. The number of dead and wounded is very large. Chemical means and violence are being used to an intolerable extent, with physical consequences that can be fatal. These means are intensively used. The appeal, which is of an international character, also asks the UN secretary general to use his authority, through the UN Human Rights Committee, to influence the Yugoslav Government to stop everything that is happening in the province as fast as possible. The appeal is dated 31 January 1990 and is signed by Dr. Zekeria Cana, secretary to the council.

Serbian Students Brief Milosevic on Demands

AU0702215290 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Feb 90 p 1

[M.S. report: "Slobodan Milosevic Receives Delegation of Students From Serbia"]

[Text] Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, yesterday received a delegation of students from the Universities of Belgrade, Nis, Novi Sad, and Kragujevac.

In two-hour talks, which were also attended by Mihalj Kertes, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and Milomir Minic, secretary of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, the students briefed Milosevic on the demands concerning the situation in Kosovo that were made by students at a meeting that was held the evening before last in the student district of Belgrade.

Serbian Presidency Session Views Kosovo

AU0502205990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Discussing the political, security, and socioeconomic situation in the province of Kosovo, and the state of and problems concerning the interethnic and interrepublican relations, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia launched at today's session a series of initiatives that refer to the situation in this republic.

The Presidency particularly stressed that it will most energetically oppose all attempts to forcefully overthrow the legally elected organs in Kosovo. It also issued instructions that all emigrants from Albania be registered and that all those who abused hospitality be deprived of the right to stay in the country.

The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia demands that work organizations in Kosovo consistently respect work duties and that receivership be introduced in the work organizations in which the work process has been disturbed. Those who do not report to work should be subjected to the existing regulations on labor relations and their jobs filled with those who will respect work discipline.

Moreover, the Presidency holds the view that personal incomes should not be paid for the time that has not been spent working. The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia has arrived at these views after an extensive discussion and the opening speech by Dusan Mihajlovic, vice president of the Republican Executive Council.

According to Mihajlovic, in order to prevent the terrorist actions by Albanian separatists and protect the citizens, property, and institutions in Kosovo, Serbia has undertaken energetic measures that have led to a certain calming down of the situation in Kosovo in the last two days.

Considering that Albanian separatists are continuing their actions, the Presidency is of the view that the SFRY Presidency should apply additional measures to prevent such actions and eliminate terrorist forces from Kosovo.

The republic of Serbia is itself undertaking all the necessary measures within its legal and constitutional powers.

Concluding today's discussion, President Slobodan Milosevic said:

All citizens of Serbia are disgusted. And they are, as known, not only of Serbian nationality. This indignation has not only been expressed because of the threat to Serbia and Serbian people, but because of something much simpler that is of a general human nature. This is the anger caused by the terror to which the minority, unarmed and completely innocent, is exposed. In addition, the anger in the heart of every citizen of Serbia is caused by the support for the terror in Kosovo that comes from Slovenia and Croatia, from those communities that most vociferously strive for democracy, the freedom of man and citizen, and the entry into a united Europe, Slobodan Milosevic said.

All those who have not been blinded by hatred can see that appeals for political pluralism and the applause for the movement whose motto is blood come from the same rostrums. How can one (?understand) the endeavor for a dialogue and support violence and terrorism as the means of political struggle? This hypocrisy has now come to the light and freed us from the last illusion that we are dealing with well-intentioned people, let alone comrades.

Those in Yugoslavia who support terror in Kosovo deal a blow to both Serbia and Yugoslavia. This is clear and indisputable. Fortunately, this blow can no longer knock us down. However, they are in fact working against a world for which all progressive people strive, a world of peace, progress, and the rapprochement of people.

In the past few days, Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo were not alone with their troubles. Serbia is using all forces at its disposal as the state and is trying to make Yugoslavia use the same forces. Every house in Serbia is with them and every house in Serbia is ready to go to Kosovo tomorrow if the method of protection currently used is not sufficient. Everyone who knows the history of Serbia and who knows what Serbian citizens feel, knows that this will happen if terror persists in Kosovo, Slobodan Milosevic stressed.

The separatist movement in Kosovo has chosen the most difficult moment in the most difficult crisis of unity and confidence in Yugoslavia to carry out an attack on the integrity of Serbia and Yugoslavia with the support of anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav forces at home and abroad. This time around, Albanian separatists were better organized than in the past. They simultaneously acted along two lines. One were the demonstrations whose aim was to make as much chaos and bloodshed as possible, while the other line of operations was the so-called democratic movements and parties whose purpose was to conceal the chauvinist background of separatist movement behind the alleged struggle for human rights.

Albanian chauvinists demonstrated to the entire public their desperate attempts to involve all Albanians in the confrontation, not showing the slightest concern for their lives because they know, and should know in the future, that they will never get or conquer a single inch of Serbia. They will especially never get or conquer Kosovo and Metohija.

Therefore, Albanians must not allow themselves to be deceived by Albanian chauvinists and to be led into giving their lives for the chauvinists' fairy tale ideas about some kind of exalted aims. Chauvinist aims have never been exalted. In the past and at present, they have always been and will remain criminal aims. None of those who recently carried out violence or caused material damage should hope that they will escape the law.

Albanian chauvinists should also know that we neither defend nor will defend Kosovo by sacrificing Serbs and Montenegrins who live in Kosovo. We will defend Kosovo with the means of a law-governed state that is stronger than them and all those who support them. It is strong because this country is made up of the people who are fed up with betrayals and humiliation and who will never again accept a state that is ready for betrayals and humiliation under the name of political compromises.

This time Albanian chauvinists were more aggressive because of the support they received from Slovenia and Croatia. However, they were wrong again because decisions about Serbia are no longer made in Slovenia and Croatia, but in Serbia. The support by anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav forces was, after all, not harmless. It is precisely due to this support that the SFRY Presidency

was late in adopting, in accordance with its powers, the decisions concerning the integrity of the country, while unrest continued to escalate. Now, however, when at least some of the measures have been adopted, it is up to us to discuss them and inform the public.

Since all the members of the SFRY Presidency have sworn their allegiance to the SFRY Assembly, stating that they will defend the integrity of the country and its constitutional system, the SFRY Assembly must be informed about the content and substance of the views that have been held by certain members of the Presidency in the past few days.

In this context, I am of the opinion, Serbian President Milosevic stressed, that citing democratic demands, which disguised the chauvinist movement in Kosovo, was an obvious hypocrisy because no sensible and honest person believes in the movement for democracy in which women and children are being evacuated from Kosovo. If somebody, however, wants to call these demands democratic, then he certainly does not deserve a place in any responsible post in Yugoslavia.

Today will not be the first time for us to say that the Yugoslav crisis, which has so tragically expressed itself in Kosovo, is a consequence of great mistakes of the political system that made it possible, among other things, for the decisions concerning parts of the territory of our republic to be made through the system of majority vote, something that contradicts all principles concerning human rights. This is why we shall preclude the possibility of the repetition of such tragic mistakes with the new constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, which we are preparing, and facilitate democratic solutions that would guarantee freedom and human rights to all.

Our immediate aim in Kosovo is to protect the citizens who are exposed to terror and violence. However, our long-term aim is to solve the Kosovo question in a way that would facilitate peace, freedom, and the economic and cultural prosperity of all citizens. This is a a long-term aim and is in the interest of all citizens of Kosovo. This aim is not unfeasible just because Kosovo is populated by different nationalities. At present there are many countries in which different nations live together successfully. There will be even more such countries in the future.

Recently many people have expressed readiness to go to Kosovo with arms to defend children and women, land, and nation. Our belief is that the law-governed state will protect both territory and peace in Kosovo in the way the Constitution prescribes it, and that we will not have to recruit volunteers to defend the country as if the state has disintegrated.

However, we have experienced that and know how to behave in such situations. Today, especially today, when we have a united Serbia, there is no danger that somebody will again throw it on its knees. I therefore believe that there will be no need for volunteers. There is however a need for other kinds of volunteers, volunteers to live in Kosovo.

The day before yesterday I spoke, Milosevic said, to the representatives of a large number of our citizens who decided to do just that. They should go there. Many tens and hundreds of thousand of others should also go with them to the south on a great mission of work, peace, and renewal of those parts of Serbia and Yugoslavia that have been tormented with violence and poverty.

The prudence, hands, and resoluteness of these volunteers are today necessary for Kosovo and Serbia. In Serbia and throughout Yugoslavia, we need mobilization for Kosovo. I sincerely believe that this should be mobilization for peace, work, and prosperity of Kosovo. Comrades, we have many reasons to be optimistic about the future, even at the peak of this eruption of this rage and violence, but also at the time when the actions of Albanian chauvinists are completely futile.

Despite all the difficulties that follow the first steps, Serbia functions as a state throughout its territory, Slobodan Milosevic concluded at the Serbian Presidency session.

Kosovo Leader Talks With Federal Secretary

LD0502204990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1726 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—Jusuf Zejnulahu, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and Radisa Gacic, federal secretary of labor, social policy and health, had talks today in Pristina on measures that are being taken by organs of Kosovo to stabilize the political-security situation, which has been created in the wake of meetings and demonstrations by Albanian nationalists and separatists in the province.

These measures have already produced certain results, but, it was announced in today's talks, their application should be continued further. Special stress was laid on the need for consistent application of compulsory work orders in some of the province's industrial organizations.

5,000 Sign Declaration in Zagreb

LD0502204390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1749 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Zagreb, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—A "Declaration for Democracy" was signed today by about 5,000 citizens of Zagreb. The action, launched by the Zagreb youth organization and supported by most of the opposition groups in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, began at noon today in Zagreb's central square—Republic Square.

This concerns a petition by alternative groups from Kosovo, which is being signed there and, among other

things, calls for free elections, respect for all forms of associations, and the lifting of the emergency measures in Kosovo.

The signing of the "Declaration for Democracy" will continue tomorrow.

Tirana TV Programs Shown on Pristina Screens

LD0502233190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian

[Text] Pristina, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—Instead of Belgrade television's second program, television screens in Pristina this evening were dominated by programs beamed from Tirana television. A news bulletin at about 2000 [1900 GMT] included a lengthy item devoted to events in Kosovo.

A lengthy film was also shown of commemoration ceremonies in Pristina today for those killed in recent demonstrations with a remark that there had been dozens of casualties. A special feature entitled "What do the Kosovars say and want" quoted what sounded like excerpts from the Yugoslav and world press—the sound could be heard only from time to time—and statements by a number of named Kosovo intellectuals.

This is not the first time that Tirana television has interferred with Pristina screens, but on previous occasions the interference was very short. This time, however, the program could be seen from as early as 1730 [1630 GMT] this evening. It is obvious that propagandists from Tirana have deliberately boosted their transmitters to penetrate even deeper into Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia.

Strikes in Kosovo Collectives Continue

LD0502164290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—The Secretariat for Economy of the Executive Council of Kosovo has announced that strikes in a great number of Kosovo collectives are continuing today.

There were partial or total stoppages of work in nine municipalities. In the territory of the Pristina municipality, miners of the Kosnica i Novo Brdo social enterprise are on strike, that is, the workers in the first shifts in the 500-strong departments of Badovac and Kisnica are on strike.

The miners in the first shift of the Trepca Mine of Stari Trg also refused to enter the pit. Only the workers in charge of the maintenance of the vital facilities came to work.

A very difficult situation exists also in Podujevo and Urosevac. In these municipalities, most enterprises are not working today. thus, production has ground to a halt in the Seamless Tubes Factory of Urosevac, the Wood Combine, the Tools and Irons Factory and in several other collectives. A similar situation occurred in Podujevo too.

There were partial or total stoppages of work in Vucitrn and Ljipljan, where the employed in the Goles Magnesium mine continue to be on strike. The workers of this collective, although subject to compulsory work orders, were not working during the past several days several either.

Enterprises in Pec, Glogovac, and Gnjilane have started production. There were no work stoppages in Serbica, Leposavic, and Strbac, while there is no reliable information from a certain number of small municipalities. According to the information available, the private sector has been operating in the majority of municipalities, and the availablility of foodstuffs has been good.

Short Demonstrations Held in Podujevo

AU0502194490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Nebojsa Spajic report]

[Text] Precisely at 1400, about 5,000 Albanians gathered together in the main street in Podujevo. They stood silently in two two-men-deep columns, expressing in this way their sorrow for those who have been killed in the unrest in Kosovo.

Only factory sirens were heard, also a sign of mourning. A couple of minutes later they shouted: Glory to them. After that they proceeded toward the Podujevo cemetery where, as they claim, one of the needlessly killed men was buried.

The entire action was led by a young man.

Earlier, at 1200 there were also demonstrations in Podujevo. About 5,000 Albanians gathered together in the streets near the city center shouting familiar slogans. When the militia reinforcements arrived, they dispersed until 1400. The militia did not intervene. Military helicopters and planes are continuously flying over the city. The impression is that these demonstrations have primarily a propagandistic role.

Kosovo LC Official on Demonstrations

LD0502141490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1041 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—It is certain that the latest demonstrations in Kosovo were well organized, while the degree of aggression they manifested made them extremely brutal with elements of terrorism, Basri Plana, member of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium, said in his introductory speech at this party organ's session.

In his view, terrorism and separatism are the two predominant features of the latest demonstrations. At the same time, the slogans displayed there have revealed the

militancy of their protagonists and totally uncovered the program of the organizers and inspirers of these demonstrations.

Basri Plana demanded that one should clearly answer the question of who failed to implement the measures ordered by the collective head of state, as well as of tracking down the ideological leaders and organizers of the counterrevolution. For, he added, the public is under the impression that the organizers, inspirers, and their assistants were almost undeterred in preparing and organizing the last demonstrations.

Serbian, Slovene Leaders Hold Talks

LD0502155390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1509 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 February (TANJUG)—At the initiative of the Federal Executive Committee [FEC], representatives of the Executive Councils of the Assemblies of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia and the SR of Slovenia had a meeting today in the Palace of the Federation. The delegations were led by the presidents of the Executive Councils, Stanko Radmilovic and Dusan Sinigoj.

Before the beginning of the talks, the representatives of the Executive Councils were received by Ante Markovic, president of the FEC, and on this occasion he pointed out the great importance of the removal of all obstacles in the mutual communications between the two republics, something which is in their interests, but also in the interest of the country as a whole. The removal of all obstacles will contribute to the successful implementation of the economic reforms, and the improvement of the overall political situation in the country.

At the end of the talks the following communique was issued:

The Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR of Serbia and the Executive Council of the SR of Slovenia will, in the framework of their authority and responsibility, take action to ensure the conditions in the economy and in society as a whole for the implementation of the economic and political reforms, for the implementation and functioning of the unified Yugoslav market in all its aspects, and the removal by both sides of all kinds of institutional, political, administrative, and similar obstacles and isolation that hamper the free movement of people, ideas, goods, capital, and information.

The Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR of Serbia and the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia will, in the framework of their authority and responsibility, take action to implement consistently the Yugoslav policy on Kosovo and develop it in such a way as to realize security and other conditions for the peaceful life of all the nations and nationalities, the implementation of democracy, the rights of the individual, constitutionality and legality, the prevention of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and all others under duress, and the return of all those who wish to live in Kosovo, and the preservation of the integrity of Serbs and Yugoslavia.

Judges Adjourn Vlasi Trial; To Resume 12 Feb

LD0502135790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1322 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Summary] Titova Mitrovica, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—The Bench of Judges at the district court of Titova Mitrovica today adjourned the trial of Azem Vlasi and the 14 other defendants, following the defense's suggestion.

One of the defense lawyers was absent, and some other lawyers said they would be unable to appear in court on the next scheduled day. Ismet Emra, chief justice of the Bench of Judges, therefore decided that the trial will be resumed next Monday.

DELO Criticizes Security Policy in Kosovo

LD0502114890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1002 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—Now that the situation in Kosovo has calmed to a certain extent, it is clear that nowhere is there any evidence to prove that any of the demonstrators had firearms or were armed in any other way, and that the greatest damage they caused was a number of burned tires and the trees they chopped down in an attempt to deny special militia units access to some villages, Danilo Slivnik writes today in DELO in his commentary entitled "The Serbian (Private) War in Kosovo."

We have, in fact, assurances by some of our journalist colleagues (we are not to reveal their names) who have seen a special daily police communique for 17-31 January that contains no report on any kind of violence inflicted on either members of the security organs or members of the Serbian and Montenegrin minority. By that time the Serbian propaganda machinery had already secured an abundant collection of reports about "the evil acts of Albanian terrorists in Kosovo" and about "the lastt preparations for Kosovo's secession," DELO resumes and adds, among other things, that one should pose the question of how it was possible for such an assessment to be so easily adopted by some federal institutions and of how the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Council could be so easily taken for a ride by the policy that has long been defeated in Kosovo.

Dialogue Urged To Solve Kosovo Problem

LD0502113690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1020 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 5 (TANJUG)—The ethnic Albanian citizens who over the past ten or so days participated en masse in separatist demonstrations throughout the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo "can neither be regarded as counterrevolutionaries nor as being opposed

to Yugoslavia and its unity," Kosovo Interior Secretary Jusuf Karakusi told the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI today.

Karakusi said that the question of assessing the demonstrations nevertheless "remains open and will be discussed in the coming period."

Pointing to the absence of major street protests over the past two days, Karakusi said this meant that "the situation will gradually normalize itself."

Twenty-five demonstrators were killed and 75 hurt in the latest wave of disturbances in Kosovo, and 45 members of the security forces were also hurt.

Head of the Kosovo communists Rahman Morina told the daily OSLOBODJENJE, published in Sarajevo, capital of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, that he saw the only solution for the situation in Kosovo in "democratic dialogue, but only in the implementation of the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia."

Such a dialogue, he explained, is not possible with those who "desire separatism," i.e., Kosovo's secession from the Republic of Serbia (of which it is an integral part) and from Yugoslavia.

Democratic League Chairman on Policies

AU0602103290 Vienna AZ in German 6 Feb 90 p 6

[Interview with Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Democratic League of Kosovo and director of the Albanology Institute at Pristina University, by Margaretha Kopeinig in Pristina—date and place not given]

[Text] [Kopeinig] Now the call for a roundtable for Kosovo is being heard from various sides. What do you think about it?

[Rugova] The opposition is officially not recognized, and the Democratic League even less so. We are called separatists and terrorists. Moreover, a tradition of dialogue does not exist in Yugoslavia.

[Kopeinig] What are your views on the solution of the problem?

[Rugova] We want comprehensive autonomy for the Province of Kosovo, pluralism, and free elections. But I think that the conflict will go on and become tougher.

[Kopeinig] That is to say, civil war?

[Rugova] I see two possibilities: either comprehensive autonomy or "Lebanization of Kosovo"—and this means war.

[Kopeinig] What are you doing to prevent this?

[Rugova] What can people do if they are constantly abused by being called separatists and terrorists. We—that is, the Albanians—want to be a moral force. However, we are not considering an intensification of contacts with Albania. No, we only want the greatest possible autonomy within Yugoslavia.

Demonstrations Show 'Clear Propaganda Aims'

LD0602101490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0330 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, Feb 5 (TANJUG)—Judging by what occurred in Yugoslavia's troubled southern Kosovo province on Monday afternoon and evening —people carrying lit candles, patiently posing to television crews and reporters and other events—the violent demonstrations by the Albanian separatists and chauvinists in Kosovo are gradually turning into peaceful protests with clear propaganda aims.

Responding to a call by the alternatives, several thousand ethnic Albanians gathered in Pristina's main street and lit candles as a sign of mourning for the victims of the recent riots in Kosovo.

At a cemetery in Podujevo today afternoon, at least 8,000 ethnic Albanians of all ages observed a minute of silence at the grave of one of the 25 demonstrators killed in the 12-day clashes in the province.

The two-finger victory sign, the same with which Sir Winston Churchill announced the Allied victory in World War Two, was in wide use at both faultlessly organized events.

In Podujevo, the demonstrators began assembling as early as noon today. Their calls for democracy and chanting "We pledged ourselves to Kosovo" were drowned by helicopters and fighter planes zooming over the city.

The demonstrators dispersed after the appearence of the security forces, but reassembled about 2 p.m. and left for the cemetery. This time, the police did not take any action.

Children, which happened to be in the streets, were swept along to the cemetery, where the demonstrators, just like in Pristina, were specially accomodating to television and news reporters, especially those from abroad, for whom they even found seats in a minibus carrying the family of the killed demonstrator.

The clearly political gathering ended after the demonstrator's father thanked everyone present and asked them to also refrain from causing incidents upon their return. He closed his speech with the call for "all for one, and one for all."

In the city of Urosevac, car horns blasted and factory sirens wailed in honour of the dead in the recent clashes and the workers of a number of factories refused to report to work, although they were given a 7-day collective vacation last week.

Working were only firms whose employees were obliged to do so under the emergency measures—Elektrokosovo, the cooking oil plant and Kosovotrans.

Police Chief Summarizes Riot Data for Assembly

LD0602221290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1809 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—Kosovo Provincial Police Chief Jusuf Karakusi stated today at a special session of the Kosovo Assembly that in latest demonstrations in Kosovo 26 people died. Among the dead 14 were aged between 16 and 25. Nine were peasants, 6 workers, four unemployed, three were pupils and one was a student. [numbers as received]

Karakusi said that the police information is that 94 demonstrators have been wounded by firearms, among them 60 are younger than 25. Among the wounded 30 are unemployed, 29 are pupils, 19 workers and 17 peasants.

In clashes with demonstrators who used firearms three policemen were gravely wounded and 80 suffered lighter injuries. Demonstrators injured a large number of citizens, 14 of whom are Serbs and Montenegrins.

Karakusi said that 80 thousand ethnic Albanians participated in the demonstrations. They stoned 17 houses and other buildings owned by Serbs and Montenegrins and damaged 142 vehicles. Karakusi also said that after the latest wave of demonstrations about one thousand demonstrators were detained and 200 were sentenced for summary offenses.

Kosovo Premier Jusuf Zejnulahu and Kosovo Police Chief Jusuf Karakusi assessed that the situation in Kosovo continues exceptionally difficult in virtually all fields. They said that the security situation is extremely difficult, tense and dramatic.

Zejnulahu assessed that the demonstrations were hostile nationalist-separatist in character and that destructive forces released in the demonstrations jeopardized public peace and order, freedom of citizens and the integrity of the Republic of Serbia whose part the Province of Kosovo is and the integrity of Yugoslavia as a whole. He also said that the demonstrations further strained internationality relations in Kosovo and outside the province.

The Kosovo premier recalled that the still-valid measures of the Yugoslav State Presidency were not observed in Kosovo. Zejnulahu assessed that "vandalist activities of the demonstrators forced the organs of the legal state to intervene and violence had to be answered by violence. He also said that in these cases the possibility of overstepping authorizations is not ruled out and stressed that all cases in which firearms were used during the demonstrations will be investigated. [no end quotes as received]

'Obvious Rift' Seen in Kosovo Assembly Debate

LD0602234490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2305 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—The deputies of the Assembly of the Province of Kosovo, at its session in Pristina tonight, supported all measures taken by the leaderships of Yugoslavia, Serbia and the province to calm the situation here after several- days riots by members of the majority ethnic Albanian population.

Twenty-six demonstrators were killed and around 100 were wounded in the riots. More than 80 members of the security forces were wounded in the clashes which were, it is claimed, instigated by Albanian nationalists and separatists who want the province to become a republic and its unification with neighbouring Albania.

Speakers at the session said that the economy of Kosovo—the least developed and the most densely populated part of Yugoslavia—has suffered a great deal because of the unrest. Due to the widespread strikes, the province has suffered much damage and immediate normalization of production is therefore the priority task.

The 11-hour session of the provincial assembly was polemical and there was an obvious rift among the deputies. Ethnic Albanians were on one side and those representing minority Serbs and Montenegrins on the other.

The ethnic Albanian deputies focused on the alleged police abuse of authority in using weapons during interventions and claimed that "innocent Albanians were killed". There were also opinions that the provincial government should collectively resign if an end to the bloodshed is desired.

The deputies frequently mentioned the incident which happened on January 30 in Malisevo when police fired their weapons and killed three passers-by although there were no demonstrations or rallies.

Yugoslav Justice Minister Vlado Kambovski and his associates arrive in the province tomorrow and will stay there until all cases in which firearms were used are settled.

Serbian and Montenegrin deputies saw the discussions by ethnic Albanian representatives as unacceptable and similar to those expressed either during the past demonstrations or by the alternative political groups which are illegally active in the province.

Muslim Nationalist Leaflets Appear in Novi Pazar

AU0602223790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Surprise has been expressed in Novi Pazar at the appearance on the night of 2 February of leaflets presenting stands from the position of Muslim nationalism. The texts, written on paper from school exercise books,

are aimed at insulting the leadership of Serbia and Slobodan Milosevic and glorifying separatism in Kosovo. The perpetrators of this act are being sought.

Bombs Thrown Into Shops Selling Rushdie Book

LD0702142490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1050 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Sarajevo, February 7 (TANJUG)—Two bookstores in central Sarajevo, Yugoslav Republic [of] Bosnia- Herzegovina, which sell Salman Rushdie's "THE SATANIC VERSES" were attacked on Tuesday evening by unknown persons who are opposed to sales of this book.

Molotov cocktails were hurled at the bookstores. The display windows were broken and there was much damage since [word indistinct] video cassettes and other goods were burned. The attackers left a [word indistinct] demanding that the publication and sales of this book stop.

The fires were brought under control and the authorities are searching for the perpetrators of this crime.

Defendants in Kosovo Arms Case Sentenced

LD0602200690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-croatian 1707 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Niksic, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—After a five-day trial before the criminal bench of the Niksic Municipal court presided over by Judge Miomir Perunovic, sentences were handed out today for the 15 defendants in the arms sales-to-Kosovo affair. They included eight employees of the Niksic Secretariat for Internal Affairs and one employee of the State Security Services.

The first defendant, Ljubomir Dzeferdanovic, was sentenced to seven years imprisonment, taking into account the time spent in pretrail detention. Petar Ilic, Nikola Mijovic, and Milisav Milicic received prison sentences of five and one-half years. Becir Hereci was sentenced to four and one-half years imprisonment, policeman Mileta Zecevic to three years, and Miomir Golubovic, commander of the Vilusi police station, to two years and eight months.

Former members of the Niksic Secretariat for Internal Affairs Branko Kovacevic, Milan Mitrovic, and Drago Terzic were sentenced to two and one-half years for criminal acts committed under Article 167, while their younger colleague and member of the Secretariat, policeman Slavko Vucic, received a six-month prison sentence.

The criminal bench of the Niksic District Court pronounced a prison sentence of 60 days on Ivan Jokic, and 60 days suspended for two years on Rajko Bulatovic, Predrag Kruscic, and Radivoje Roganovic.

The defendants, who are being held in pretrial detention, have had their confinement extended until the start of their prison sentences, since the decision to detain them gave rise to attempts at physical reprisals on the part of the accused and their families against Judge Miomir Perunovic and members of the jury. Therefore, the decision of the courts was adopted with the explanation that temporary release of the defendants in the existing political- security situation created by the events in the Province of Kosovo could cause concern to the citizens of freedom-loving Niksic and the Socialist Republic of Montenegro.

Slovene Socialist Alliance Discusses Kosovo

LD0602193790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1243 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—The Slovenia Socialist Alliance Republican Conference Presidium is against violence and against the state of emergency and measures in Kosovo that, in its view, should be lifted. Kosovo's problems must be resolved in a peaceful, democratic way through free elections, secret ballots, political pluralism, and by discontinuing all political trials under way in the province.

This was concluded today at the Presidium's session, which also called for maximum protection for the Serbian, Montenegrin and other minorities in Kosovo. Calls were also made for a critical review of the policy conducted so far by, primarily the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], in and toward Kosovo, and which has been based on "very ambiguous and probably false claims and preconceptions," as Presidium member Darja Lavtizar-Bebler stressed in an introductory report.

In the light of these misconceptions, of the violence perpetrated by the state, of the political trials and the attempts to intimidate by using tear gas and low-flying jets, current policy on Kosovo into "an emotional symbol and a safety valve for defusing tensions and discontent: and have been blaming numerous alleged living and dead enemies from other parts of Yugoslavia (Cominform, Tito, Vatican, Croats, Slovene, Albanian irredentist) for the unfavorable situation in that province. [sentence as received]

Lavtizar-Bebler said that Serbian Realsocialism in Kosovo has all the characteristics of a colonial police state that, and this must be said for the sake of the youth, was generated by, inter alia, the circumstances and situation from the period when Kosovo enjoyed real autonomy. [words indistinct]

According to Chairman Joze Smole, Kosovo has been blocking reforms in the country and, above all, Yugoslavia's international emancipation. Solutions to Kosovo's problems are to be found in further promoting democratic norms and not in a continuing show of force. The policy in and toward Kosovo, which failed to produce results over the last decade, must be changed, Smole said. He described the behavior of the Serbian leadership and its idea of defending "Serbian indentity in Kosovo" as extremely damaging for all of Yugoslavia. Albanians

form a majority in the province, he said, and as a result of the high birthrate among Albanians, the Serbian minority will gradually diminish in numbers.

While Smole refused to discuss the population explosion among Albanians, Janez Malacic described the demographic problem as one of the main causes of the current situation in Kosovo. Malacic said that the Albanians had "boycotted all attempts to resolve demographic problems" and their main philosophy had been to gain as many resources as possible. This was in the interest of the provincial bureaucracy. It is hard to understand why scientists in the province approve of all this and it is even harder to understand why Yugoslavia and Slovenia continue to finance it. The blame also lies with a wrong policy on resolving the development problems of Yugoslavia's undeveloped regions.

Malacic also responded to Smole's appeal for "the right to self- determination for the Albanian people" by noting that despite their numbers, Albanians in Yugoslavia are still a "national minority." This prompted Smole to "withdraw" and to accept Malicic's "intervention."

A proposal by Marija Cigala that the Slovenia Socialist Alliance, together with other political groups in the country, should consciously avoid making fresh statements on Kosovo, drew no response from other Presidium members. Ciril Zlobec's idea of sending an objective expert commission to Kosovo to analyze the situation there without political pressures and prejudged views, was described as realistic by several participants in the debate. Joze Susmelj warned, however, that a similar initiative had met with resistence in the SFRY Assembly.

The Presidium also adopted an appeal for "the rights for all children in Yugoslavia" and against violence perpetrated against children in Kosovo.

Albanian 'Chauvinists' 'Occasionally' Active

LD0602221390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2017 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—With the exception of gatherings of ethnic Albanians to pay their last respects to those killed in the recent demonstrations, the situation in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo was calmer today and there were no riots.

Around 15,000 ethnic Albanians gathered in Pristina's main street at 2 p.m. today. With their hands raised in the victory sign and to the deafening noise of automobile and factory sirens they paid their respects to those killed in the recent demonstrations. After that, they dispersed and the police did not intervene. Such a gathering was also organized yesterday, in response to an appeal of Kosovo alternative movements.

The province has been hit by a wave of political strikes by ethnic Albanians in scores of enterprises. The strikes have been assessed as a direct blow to the economy of the province and Yugoslavia.

Kosovo owes more than one billion dollars to foreign creditors.

Despite all the measures which have been taken to stop the actions of Albanian chauvinists and separatists, they are still occasionally active. They attempted an attack on the monks in the monastery Gorioc near that town on Friday night, the police of the town of Istok said today.

Twenty participants in the hostile and destructive demonstrations were sentenced to 40-60 days in prison in Kacanik today.

A meeting of the initiative committee for the self-organization and protection of Serbs and Montenegrins was held in Pristina today. It was assessed that the violence and attacks of Albanian terrorists and separatists over the past few days have forced Serbs and Montenegrins to organize themselves in order to protect their lives and hearths [as received]. It was concluded that the council remain in a state of readiness and that it cooperate with the authorities in the province.

Kosovo Peaceful; Drunken Soldier Shoots 2

AU0702204290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Kosovo]

[Text] Another day has passed relatively peacefully in Kosovo. There were work stoppages again. Although they were fewer in number than yesterday, the provincial government is adamant that the responsibility of those who are not working or have not worked should be thoroughly investigated.

Misdemeanor charges have already been filed against miners in Goles, Stari Trg, Kisnica, and Novo Brdo, and workers at the Trepca lead plant and the Kosovo electric-generating industry who in the last few days have not adhered to the work orders that were introduced by the SFRY Presidency.

This morning the only unrest occurred in Janjevo. The inhabitants of this village—Albanians, Croatians, and Romanies—held a meeting at which they protested against last night's excess. That is to say, it was officially announced today that at about 1700 yesterday, a member of the combined militia unit, Tomislav Isakovic, fired his automatic rifle in the center of Janjevo and injured Abedin Imeri and Abedin Berisa in the legs. Prior to this, the militiaman had left his unit without permission and was completely drunk. The official statement stressed that he had been arrested and handed over to the investigative organs.